

The Italian Background of Early Cretan Literature

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What is meant by the term “early Cretan literature” is the sum of various Greek literary texts composed in Venetian Crete during the last two centuries of the Byzantine Empire.¹ The fall of Constantinople, although it caused a great commotion in Crete,² did not interrupt in any way the cultural life on the island, but rather enhanced and enriched it with the arrival of scholarly Byzantine refugees. Thus, these two centuries should be extended, for reasons of discernible continuity, to include also the second half of the fifteenth century. This early Cretan literature, written in vernacular Greek, occupies a prominent and significant place in the Byzantine *Volksliteratur* of the same period, to which, of course, it is closely related. At the same time it displays certain features which differentiate it considerably, so much so that it can be said that it constitutes, mainly on account of its relationship with Italian literature, an autonomous chapter within medieval Greek literature. While in the non-Cretan texts of Byzantine *Volksliteratur* Italian influences are sporadic and incidental, attested outside Constantinople in peripheral, mainly Latin-occupied, regions, in Cretan texts they are much more conspicu-

¹The best treatment of the subject still remains that of M. I. Manoussakas, Ἡ κρητικὴ λογοτεχνία κατὰ τὴν ἐποχὴν τῆς βενετοκρατίας (Thessalonike, 1965), 13–26. For a bibliographical update, see S. Lampakis, “Ἡ πρώτη περίοδος τῆς κρητικῆς λογοτεχνίας,” *Μανταφόρος*, fasc. 33 (June 1991), 11–15, 40–56 (bibliography). See also the brief but excellent surveys by S. Alexiou: “Πρώιμη περίοδος τῆς κρητικῆς λογοτεχνίας” in *Ιστορία τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Ἐθνους*, X (Athens, 1974), 384–90, and “Ἡ κρητικὴ λογοτεχνία κατὰ τὴν βενετοκρατία,” in *Κρήτη: Ιστορία καὶ Πολιτισμός*, ed. N. M. Panagiotakes, II (Crete, 1988), 199–210. For a critical synthesis, see A. van Gemert, “Literary Antecedents,” in *Literature and Society in Renaissance Crete*, ed. D. Holton (Cambridge, 1991), 49–78. I wish to thank Prof. Anthony A. M. Bryer, Prof. Roderick Beaton, and Dr. Arnold F. van Gemert for reading the manuscript of this paper and making useful suggestions.

²Compare the note written on fol. 1v of the Greek manuscript British Library, Additional 34060, in which the reaction of Cretans on learning of the fall of Constantinople is described (the spelling of the quotation is normalized): “Καὶ ἐγένετο οὖν μεγάλη θλίψις καὶ πολὺς κλαυθμός εἰς τὴν Κρήτην διὰ τὸ θλιβερὸν μῆνυμα ὅπερ ἥλθε, ὅτι χείρον τούτου οὐ γέγονε οὐτέ γενήσεται” (And there was great tribulation and much lamentation in Crete because of the sad news that had come, for nothing worse than this has happened nor will happen) (R. Browning, “A Note on the Capture of Constantinople in 1453,” *Byzantium* 22 [1952], 379–87); see also M. Manoussakas, “Les derniers défenseurs crétois de Constantinople d’après les documents vénitiens,” *Akten des XI. Internationalen Byzantinisten-Kongress, 1958* (Munich, 1960), 331–40. In the “Lament of Constantinople” (Ἀνακάλημα τῆς Κωνσταντινόπολης) (no. 21), Constantine Palaeologos, the last Byzantine emperor, is presented as asking his Cretan comrades-in-arms to cut off his head after his death and take it to Crete, an obvious symbolism of Crete as the place chosen to receive and preserve the heritage of Byzantium. This sort of symbolism smacks of Cretan patriotism and could only have been invented by a Cretan. Thus, the poem’s last editor is probably wrong in ascribing to it a Cypriot origin (E. Kriaras, *Tὸ Ἀνακάλημα τῆς Κωνσταντινόπολης*, critical edition, with introduction, commentary, and index verborum [Thessalonike, 1965], 6–8 sq.).

ous and pervasive. In fact, what is known about specific Italian influences on medieval Greek literature outside Crete before 1500 is minimal. The most important seems to be that the late Byzantine vernacular romance of “Florios and Platziadis” draws directly upon the Italian “Il Cantare di Fiorio e Biancifiore.”³ Since, however, the place where “Florios” was composed remains unknown, it may well have been Crete, although tell-tale traces of the dialect, avoided in such early texts, are not as evident as in other contemporary and later texts of Cretan origin.⁴ The Western literary influence exercised on medieval Greek literature after 1204 is intensified with the passage of time and to a great extent reflects the political realities that were taking shape and consolidating themselves in the Latin East. This influence, initially French and Provençal,⁵ becomes progressively more and more Italian.⁶

³G. Spadaro, *Contributo sulle fonti del romanzo greco-medievale “Florio e Platziadis,”* Κείμενα καὶ Μελέτες Νεοελληνικῆς Φιλολογίας 26 (Athens, 1966), and idem, *Prolegomena al romanzo di Florio e Platziadis* (Catania, 1979), 7–31.

⁴Cf. A. Di Benedetto Zimbone, “Φλόριος καὶ Πλατζιαδίσ romanzo cretese?” Σύνδεσμος: *Studi in onore di Rosario Anastasi*, I (Catania, 1992), 179–91. Zimbone’s linguistic arguments are inconclusive: Cretan idiomatic forms may have been inserted in the text by a Cretan copyist at some later stage. Manoussakas believes that all Byzantine vernacular romances may have been either composed or revised in Crete at one time or another and makes a stronger case for “Libistros and Rodamne” (“Ἡ ὠμίλια τοῦ νεκροῦ βασιλιά. Ἀνέκδοτο στιχούργημα τοῦ ΙΕ’ σιώνα,” Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρίς τῆς Φιλοσοφικῆς Σχολῆς τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλονίκης 8 [1963], 279 n. 6, and Κρητικὴ λογοτεχνία, 8). Cf. also M. K. Chatziyakoumes, who considers the Scaligeranus 55 of “Libistros” and “Kallimachos and Chrysorrhoe” (unique witness to the latter text) as well as their composition as of probable Cretan origin (Τὰ μεσαιωνικὰ δημώδη κείμενα: Συμβολὴ στὴ μελέτη καὶ στὴν ἔκδοσή τους [Athens, 1977], 36, 170). D. K. Michaelides (“Νέες χρονολογήσεις μεσαιωνικῶν δημωδῶν κειμένων,” in *Origini della letteratura neogreca*, II, ed. N. M. Panayotakis, Βιβλιοθήκη τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Ἰνστιτούτου Βυζαντινῶν καὶ Μεταβυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν τῆς Βενετίας 15 [Venice, 1993], 154) proposes Rhodes as the place where “Libistros” was probably composed, using non-linguistic arguments, which however are equally inconclusive. According to Elizabeth M. Jeffreys, “we would have to assume that ‘Kallimachos’ and ‘Belthandros’ were both written in Constantinople” (“Place of Composition as a Factor in the Edition of Early Demotic Texts,” *Origini della letteratura neogreca*, I, ed. N. M. Panayotakis, Βιβλιοθήκη τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Ἰνστιτούτου Βυζαντινῶν καὶ Μεταβυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν τῆς Βενετίας 14 [Venice, 1993], 313). Linking a text to a place on the basis solely of linguistic arguments, without taking into consideration other factors, is rarely convincing, unless the evidence is overwhelming and it can be shown that specific forms and constructions belong exclusively to a specific dialect. Phaidon Koukoulès (“Μορφολογικὰ καὶ γραμματολογικὰ ζητήματα,” *Glotta* 25 [1936], 163) advised caution when Cretan origin is claimed on such grounds, in view of the fact that linguistic elements considered dialectic were in earlier times used more widely. However, Manoussakas points out that some of the examples used by Koukoulès are exclusively Cretan and adds that the existence of an uninterrupted literary tradition makes Crete a likelier place of origin of literary texts than other places where such a tradition did not exist (“Ἡ ὠμίλια,” 297 n. 6).

⁵Cf. H.-G. Beck, *Ιστορία τῆς βυζαντινῆς δημώδους λογοτεχνίας*, trans. N. Eideneier (Athens, 1988), 218–35. (This updated translation supersedes *Geschichte der byzantinischen Volksliteratur* [Munich, 1971] and will be cited here.) Also see R. Beaton, *The Medieval Greek Romance* (Cambridge, 1989), 151–59 (with reference to the romances). For Provençal and French poets who actually lived and wrote in the Byzantine East after 1204, among them Raimbaut de Vaqueiras, see *Poesie provenzali storiche relative all’Italia*, ed. V. de Bartholomaeis, *Fonti per la Storia d’Italia*, Istituto Storico Italiano, Scrittori, secoli XII–XIII, I (Rome, 1931), xxv–xxx, 92–109 and 160–80; cf. also J. Longnon, *L’empire de Constantinople et la principauté de Morée* (Paris, 1949), 212–15; J. Richard, “Culture franque et culture grecque dans les royaumes d’Armenie et de Chypre au XVème siècle,” *ByZF* 11 (1987), 399–415 (= *Croisades et états latins d’Orient: points de vue et documents* (London, 1992), art. xix), and D. Jacoby, “La littérature française dans les états latins de la Méditerranée orientale à l’époque des Croisades: diffusion et création,” in *Essor et fortune de la chanson de geste dans l’Europe et l’Orient Latin*, Actes du IXe Congrès international de la Société Rencesvals pour l’étude des épopées romanes, II (Modena, 1984), 617–47 (= *Studies on the Crusader States and on Venetian Expansion* (Northampton, 1989), art. ii). See also J. Richard, “La vogue de l’Orient dans la littérature occidentale du moyen-âge,” *Mélanges René*

It should be stressed that these early Cretan literary works are not simple translations or adaptations from the Italian, and that they still bear the imprint of Byzantine culture. Their most striking Byzantine feature is, of course, their meter. Nothing else could transform and byzantinize or hellenize foreign influences as radically as the use of the fifteen-syllable political verse, employed, with very few exceptions, in all medieval Greek poems in the vernacular, whatever their origin. Byzantine influence goes, of course, much deeper than metrical form, although Cretan poets were able to transcend this influence. As Margaret Alexiou observes, they "had no Dante or Chaucer on whom to draw, only Byzantine literature; yet around 1400, there flourished on the island of Crete a number of poets who utilized conventions only in order to question them."⁷ Some of these poets, I may add, were poets of considerable talent and originality.

Western literary influences on Byzantine literature in general, important as they are, have in fact never been investigated satisfactorily and still remain more or less a *terra incognita*. The little that is known can be found neatly classified in Hans-Georg Beck's *Byzantinische Volksliteratur*, where early Cretan literature is treated as an indistinct part of the larger corpus of Byzantine popular literature,⁸ as well as in a small number of articles subsequently published.⁹ However, since the publication of Beck's book (1971), there

⁷Crozet (Poitiers, 1966), 557–61 (= *Les relations entre l'Orient et l'Occident au Moyen Age: études et documents* (London, 1977), art. xxii; G. Folena, "La România d'oltremare: francese e veneziano nel Levante," in his *Cultura e lingue nel Veneto medievale* (Padua, 1990), 269–86 (where cultural and linguistic "simbiosi franco-veneta a Cipro e a Creta" [ibid., 282–83] is certainly, as far as Crete is concerned, nonexistent; Cretan literature is here completely ignored).

⁸Cf. E. Kriaras, "Ιταλικές έπιδράσεις σε παλαιότερα έλληνικά κείμενα," *Έποχές* 1, fasc. 4 (1963), 9–22 (= *Μεσαιωνικά μελετήματα: γραμματεία καὶ γλώσσα*, II [Thessalonike, 1988], 17–30); K. Metsakes, "Η ξένη έπιδραση στὴν έλληνικὴ λογοτεχνία," *Νέα Έστία* 73, fasc. 854 (1963), 180–86, and G. Spadaro, "Influssi occidentali in Grecia dalla IV Crociata alla caduta di Creta in mano ai Turchi," *Ιταλοελληνικά*, II (Naples, 1989), 77–101 (on Italian influences).

⁹M. Alexiou, "Literature and Popular Tradition," *Literature and Society in Renaissance Crete* (as in note 1 above), 250.

⁸Beck, *Ιστορία*, 275–77, 289–95, 298, 303–6, 308–13 and *passim*.

⁹Cf. E. M. Jeffreys, "The Comnenian Background of the Romans d'Antiquité," *Byzantion* 50 (1980), 455–86, and other studies, written in cooperation with M. J. Jeffreys, reprinted in the volume *Popular Literature in Late Byzantium* (London, 1983); art. x, etc.; C. Cupane, "Ἐρως βασιλεύς: la figura di Eros nel romanzo bizantino d'amore," *Atti dell' Accademia di Arti di Palermo*, ser. 4, 33.2 (1974), 243–97; "Il motivo del castello nella narrativa tardo-bizantina. Evoluzione di un' allegoria," *JÖB* 27 (1978), 229–67; "Il concorso di bellezza" in Beltandro e Crisanza sulla via fra Bisanzio e l'Occidente medievale," *JÖB* 33 (1983), 221–48; "Natura formatrix. Umwege eines rhetorischen Topos," in *BYZANTIOΣ: Festschrift für Herbert Hunger zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. W. Hörandner et al. (Vienna, 1984), 37–52; "Topica romanzesca in Oriente e in Occidente: 'avanture' et 'amour,'" in H.-G. Beck, F. Conca, and C. Cupane, *Il romanzo tra cultura latina e cultura bizantina: Testi della III Settimana residenziale di studi medievali* (Carini, Villa Belvedere, 17–21 October 1983), ed. C. Roccaro (Palermo, 1986), 47–72; "Byzantinisches Erotikon: Ansichten und Einsichten," *JÖB* 37 (1987), 213–33; "Κατέλαβες τὰ ὄμφιβολα τῆς τυφλῆς δούμονος πρόσωπα: Il Λόγος Παρηγορητικὸς περὶ Δυστυχίας καὶ Εύτυχίας e la figura di Fortuna nella letteratura greca medievale," *Origini della letteratura neogreca*, I (as in note 4 above), 413–37. In the case of the Byzantine romances, apart from Western influences, the tradition of the novel of late antiquity should also be taken into account along with Oriental influences that have left traces in both Byzantine and Western (especially French) romances. Vincenzo Pecoraro ("La nascita del romanzo moderno nell'Europa del XII secolo. Le sue origini orientali e la mediazione di Bisanzio all' Occidente," *JÖB* 32.3 [1982], 307–18) stresses the importance of Oriental sources and the role of Byzantium as an intermediary. Compare also the reservations expressed, with reference to some of Cupane's arguments, by P. Agapetos, "The Erotic Bath in the Byzantine Vernacular Romance *Kallimachos and Chrysorhoe*," *ClMed* 41 (1990), 259 n. 11, and *idem*, "Η χρονολογικὴ ἀκολουθία τῶν μυθιστορημάτων 'Καλλίμαχος,' 'Βέλθανδρος,' καὶ 'Λίβιστρος,'" *Origini della*

have been some significant developments that have not been as yet incorporated into a manual nor presented in a satisfactory way. My purpose, apart from endeavoring to give a panoramic view of Cretan literature up to 1500 with reference to Italian and other Romance literatures, is to present these new developments as succinctly as possible, within the limits of this paper.

The reason why so little has been done would seem to be the intrinsic complexity and the demanding nature of the task: a well-prepared investigator in the field would optimally need to possess a thorough knowledge of medieval and early Renaissance Latin and Italian literature, indeed, of a wider spectrum of Romance literatures, and at the same time be a Byzantinist conversant with all periods of the Greek language, ancient, medieval, and modern. Henri Grégoire spoke of “l'utilité du grec pour les romanistes,”¹⁰ but the same applies in reverse to those who engage in this sort of literary research: “l'utilité des langues romances médiévales pour les byzantinistes” specializing in vernacular texts cannot be sufficiently stressed. As a rule, Western medievalists (even a number of Renaissance scholars of today) know little or no Greek, and Byzantinists in general seldom venture far enough into the deep forest of medieval European culture. Almost all contributions in tracking down Italian influences on medieval vernacular Greek texts have been done with insufficient knowledge of one or the other literature, rarely on a sound knowledge of both, a knowledge which in any case the author of the present study does not claim to possess. The best contribution still remains that of Kenneth Setton (1956), which contains a great deal of information on the question of Byzantine literary influences on Italy and vice versa.¹¹ Setton dwells on the broader historical and cultural background and pays little attention to vernacular texts, perhaps because at that time much less was known about them.¹² To him, however, belongs the credit of emphasizing the important role played by southern Italy and Sicily, partly Greek-speaking during the Middle Ages, in the process of cultural exchanges between Byzantium and Italy, both before and after the Italian, largely Venetian, expansion into the East.

Curiously enough, southern Italy does not seem to have produced original works in vernacular Greek,¹³ although it did produce a notable number of literary texts written in learned Greek.¹⁴ Equally relevant are the various studies of Deno Geanakoplos dealing

letteratura neogreca, II (as in note 4 above), 98 n. 5, and by P. Magdalino, “Eros the King and the King of Amours: Some Observations on *Hysmine* and *Hysminias*,” *DOP* 46 (1992), 197.

¹⁰ H. Grégoire and Raoul de Keyser, “La Chanson de Roland et Byzance ou de l'utilité du grec pour les romanistes,” *Byzantion* 14 (1939), 265–315.

¹¹ K. M. Setton, “The Byzantine Background of the Italian Renaissance,” *PAPS* 100 (1956), 38–76 (= *Europe and the Levant in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (London, 1974), art. I).

¹² *Ibid.*, 38–40.

¹³ Some vernacular poems were copied in Italy, e.g., the Grottaferratensis Gr. Z.a. 44, which contains the G version of Digenes Akrites (cf. M. Jeffreys, “Proposals for the Debate on the Question of Oral Influence in Early Modern Greek Poetry,” *Origini della letteratura neogreca*, I [as in note 4 above], 260). In this manuscript the same southern Italian hand copied a version of “Spaneas,” whereas another version of the same poem in Vat. gr. 1276 was also copied locally (G. S. Anagnostopoulos, ‘Η χειρόγραφη παράδοση τοῦ Σπανέα [Athens, 1993], 23–24).

¹⁴ Cf., e.g., O. Hartwig, “Übersetzungsliteratur Unteritaliens in der normanisch-staufischen Epoche,” *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* 3 (1886), 161–90, 233–35, 509; R. Weiss, “The Greek Culture of South Italy in the Later Middle Ages,” *ProcBrAc* 37 (1951), 23–50 (= *Medieval and Humanistic Greek: Collected Essays*, Medioevo e Umanesimo 8 [Padua, 1977], 13–43); Setton, “Byzantine Background,” *passim*; A. Pertusi, “Aspetti organizzativi e culturali dell’ambiente monacale greco dell’Italia meridionale. L’eremitismo in Occidente nei secoli XI e XII,” in *Atti della II Settimana internazionale di studio* (Mendola, agosto-settembre 1962) (Milan, 1965), 382–

with the cultural interaction between Byzantium and the West,¹⁵ especially his emphasis on the importance of Crete as the halfway point for contacts between the two cultures.¹⁶ More specific in tracing influences in Cretan literary texts is Gareth Morgan in his Oxford dissertation (partly published in 1960),¹⁷ a rather disjointed but at times brilliant investigation of the sources of some early Cretan texts, Italian or otherwise. In the meantime, despite the fact that adequate critical editions of most of these texts have been published, none of the editors has said anything of real importance with regard to their Italian models or parallels. All editors have been capable modern Greek scholars, some of them good Byzantinists as well, but none could be said to possess more than a superficial knowledge of medieval Italian or other Romance literatures. One has only to go through the relevant chapter in a recent collective work on Cretan literature, written by Arnold van Gemert, a Dutch scholar of merit, in order to realize how little we really know on the subject.¹⁸

As indicated in the table of the texts in question, in the present state of our knowledge (which, all things considered, has probably reached its limits), the corpus of early Cretan literature up to 1500 consists of 47 different compositions in verse, ranging in length from 6 to 5,329 verses, including the “Old and New Testament” (Παλαιὰ καὶ Νέα Διαθήκη), dated until recently to the beginning of the seventeenth century, but in fact be-

426; M. Gigante, *Poeti bizantini di Terra d'Otranto nel secolo XIII*, a critical edition, introduction, translation, commentary, and index verborum (Naples, 1979).

¹⁵ See D. J. Geanakoplos: “The Influences of Byzantine Culture on the Medieval Western World,” in *Byzantine East and Latin West: Two Worlds of Christendom in Middle Ages and Renaissance* (New York and Evanston, Ill., 1966), 11–54; “The Influences of Byzantine Culture on the Medieval West,” in *Interaction of the “Sibling” Byzantine and Western Cultures in the Middle Ages and Italian Renaissance (330–1660)* (New Haven, Conn., 1976), 55–94; “Western Influences on Byzantium in Theology and Classical Latin Literature,” *ibid.*, 95–117; “Italian Renaissance Thought and Learning and the Role of the Byzantine Emigré Scholars in Florence, Rome, and Venice: A ‘Reassessment,’” in *Constantinople and the West* (Madison, Wisc., 1989), 3–37; “A Re-evaluation of the Influences of Byzantine Scholars on the Development of the Studia Humanitatis, Metaphysics, Patristics and Science in the Italian Renaissance,” *ibid.*, 38–67.

¹⁶ D. J. Geanakoplos, “The Cretan Role in the Transmission of Greco-Byzantine Culture to Western Europe via Venice,” in *Byzantine East and Latin West* (as in note 15 above), 139–64; *idem*, “Crete: Half-way Point between East and West in the Renaissance,” in *Interaction* (as in note 15 above), 200–212.

¹⁷ G. Morgan, “Cretan Poetry: Sources and Inspiration,” *Kp.Xpov.* 14 (1960), 9–68, 203–70, and 379–434, reprinted as a book with continuous pagination (Herakleion, 1960), which will be cited here.

¹⁸ Van Gemert, “Literary Antecedents,” 49–78. E. Köhler, “Byzanz und die Literatur der Romania,” in *Grundriss der romanischen Literaturen des Mittelalters* (hereafter = *Grundriss*), I: *Généralités* (Heidelberg, 1972), 396–407, 676–80, deals mainly with Byzantine influences on the West and not the other way around; early Cretan literature, the recipient *par excellence* of Romance influences, and the substantial bibliography on the subject are ignored. All in all, a chapter whose length is not justified by the invocation of D. J. Geanakoplos’ statement (Köhler, 407 n. 76) that the “Byzantine influence on western medieval literature is small.” On other aspects of literary activity—theology, hagiology, rhetoric, patristics, philosophy, etc.—it is anything but small, and certainly deserves treatment much more extensive than the eleven pages dedicated to it. For a fuller account of reciprocal influences, see W. Berschin, “Literatur. Griechisches im lateinischen Mittelalter,” *RB*, I.3 (1969) and I.4 (1970), cols. 227–304; *idem*, *Greek Letters and the Latin Middle Ages from Jerome to Nicolas of Cusa*, revised and expanded edition, trans. J. C. Frakes (Washington, D.C., 1988), and A. Lumpe, “Abendländisches in Byzanz,” *RB*, I.4 (1970), cols. 304–345. Köhler begins his chapter quoting an eminent French romanist: “C'est seulement d'une façon sommaire et approximative que les historiens de la littérature ont marqué, du point de vue de leur spécialité, les rapports de l'Occident avec l'Orient” (E. Faral, *Recherches sur les sources latines des contes et romans courtois du moyen-âge* [Paris, 1913], 277), a view which to a great extent is still valid. See also P. Alexander, “Byzantium and the Migration of Literary Works and Motifs: The Legend of the Last Emperor,” *MedHum*, n.s., 2 (1971), 47–68 (= *Religious and Political History and Thought in the Byzantine Empire* (London, 1978), art. XII).

THE TRANSMISSION OF SURVIVING EARLY CRETAN LITERARY TEXTS

Texts	Number of MSS	Printed Text	Number of Verses
Stefanos Sachlikes			
1. "Remarkable Tale"	1	—	412
2. "On Friends"	1	—	201
3. "On Prison"	3	—	189
4. "Parliament of Whores"	3	—	300
5. "Tournament of Whores"	2	—	45
6. "Potha's Song"	1	—	96
7. "Advice to Frantziskis"	3	—	365
Leonardos Dellaportas			
8. "Dialogue between the Poet and the Truth"	1	—	3,166
9. "On Retribution"	1	—	168
10. "Passion of Christ"	1	—	794
11. "Supplications"	1	—	92
12. Bergadís, "Apokopos"	2	1	490
Marinos Falieros			
13. "Love Dream"	1	—	130
14. "Story and Dream"	3	—	758
15. "Rhyme of Consolation"	3	—	302
16. "Lament on the Passion"	1	(1)	404
17. "Father's Advice to Son"	1	—	326
18. Anonymous, "Alphabet"	13	—	120
19. Anon., "Rhyme of Girl and Boy"	2	—	769
20. Ioannis Pikatoros, "Rhyme of Hades"	1	—	563
21. Anon., "Lament of Constantinople"	1	—	118
22. Anon., "Tale of Venice the Famous"	3	—	85
Nathanael Bertos			
23. "On Corrupt Clergy"	1	—	1,395
24. "On Monks"	1	—	232
25. "On Widowers"	1	—	112
26. Anon., "Register of the Noble Women"	1	—	475
27. Anon., "Praise of Women"	1	—	735
28. Ioannis Plousiadenos, "Virgin's Lament"	2	—	192
29. Anon., Vernacular "Akathistos Hymnos"	1	—	23
Andreas Sklentzas			
30. "Hymn to Mary Magdalene"	1	—	230
31. "Prayer to Christ"	1	—	6
32. "Prayer to the Holy Spirit"	1	—	14
33. "Seven Joys of the Virgin"	1	—	14
34. "Hymn to St. Francis of Assisi"	1	—	54
35. "Prayer by St. Thomas Aquinas"	1	—	30
36. "Praises to the Spring of Life" (Virgin)	1	—	72
37. Anon., "To the Virgin"	1	—	113
38. Anon., "Rhyme on Death"	1	—	148
39. Georgios Choumnos, "Creation of the World"	5	—	2,832

THE TRANSMISSION OF SURVIVING EARLY CRETAN LITERARY TEXTS (*continued*)

Texts	Number of MSS	Printed Text	Number of Verses
40. Anon., "Chapbook of the Donkey"	—	1	540
41. Anon., "Speech of the Dead King"	1	—	137
42. Gabriel Akontianos, "Apollonios"	3	1	1,894
43. Anon., "On Exile"	2	—	547
44. Anon., "The Second Coming"	1	—	396
45. Anon., "Old and New Testament"	1	—	5,329
46. Anon., "Woman Spurned"	1	—	18
47. Anon., "Mystery of Christ's Passion"	1	—	112

longing to the end of the fifteenth.¹⁹ Of these, three of Dellaportas' poems (nos. 8, 10, 11), the "Old and New Testament" (no. 45) and "The Second Coming" (no. 44)²⁰ are still unpublished. The Cretan origin of nos. 18, 19, 21, 22, 43, 44, and 46 can only be surmised, but is strongly indicated on the basis of overwhelming linguistic evidence. Of the fifty-one different compositions which have been previously listed as dating before 1500, seven are of dubious Cretan origin.²¹

Why so few? Are we to believe that early Cretan literature is quantitatively poor in comparison with other medieval European literatures? Or is it because, as has been maintained, there have been losses due to the transition from manuscript to printed text and to other causes "such as the perishable nature of the material, changes in taste, the effects of fire, war and natural disasters, . . . shipwreck, the rather late development of interest in Greek texts in the vernacular by the Venetian printing presses" and the haphazard selection of the texts that were sent to the presses?²² No doubt all these factors contrib-

¹⁹ N. M. Panagiotakes, "Η Πιλασιά καὶ Νέα Διαθήκη ποίημα προγένεστερο τοῦ 17ου αιώνα," *Origini della letteratura neogreca*, II (as in note 4 above), 242–77.

²⁰ "Δευτέρα Παρουσία διὰ στίχου," in Vindob. Hist. gr. 119, fols. 116r–125v (see B. Schartau, "Δευτέρα παρουσία διὰ στίχου. Ein unedierter Verstext aus Handschrift Hist. gr. 119, Ö.N.B., Wien," *Epsilon* 1 [1987] 69–81).

²¹ W. F. Bakker and A. van Gemert, "Χρονολογικὸς πίνακας τῶν ἔργων τῆς κρητικῆς λογοτεχνίας κατὰ τὴν περίοδο τῆς βενετοκρατίας," *Μαντατοφόρος*, fasc. 22 (November 1983), 80–82. Apart from the Escorial Digenes Akrites (Escorialensis gr. ψ. IV 22), whose text was probably copied in Crete at the beginning of the 15th century (although certainly not composed there), van Gemert includes the "Δόγος περὶ Δυστυχίας καὶ Εὐτυχίας" (14th century) (cf. below, notes 126, 127), "Libistros" (cf. above, note 4), the anonymous love poems of Neap. gr. III. B. 27 (more probably Heptanesian or Rhodian), "Tzamblakos" (cf. S. Lampakes, "Τὸ ποίημα τοῦ Τζαμπλάκου," *Origini della letteratura neogreca*, II (as in note 4 above), 485–500), the "Rhyme of Belissarios" (whose Cretan origin has not been convincingly demonstrated), Ioannes Plousiadenos' "Salutations (Χαιρετισμοί) to the Virgin" (which is not written in the vernacular), and, finally, the long "Marriage of Theseus and Emilia," a Greek translation of Boccaccio's "Teseida" (whose language contains no evident Cretan dialecticisms). On the other hand, in Bakker and van Gemert's list of early Cretan poems the redated "Old and New Testament" and the unpublished "Second Coming" (see above, notes 19 and 20) should be included. See a detailed discussion of this and relevant subjects in A. van Gemert, "Οἱ χαμένες γενιές τῆς Κρήτης," *Ροδωνιά: Τιμὴ στὸν Μ. I. Μανούσακα*, II (Rethymnon, 1994), 599–620.

²² Van Gemert, "Literary Antecedents," 75.

uted to the scarcity of these texts, but the tumultuous events in Crete for the period of almost two centuries after the Venetian conquest was the most destructive factor of all. It is true that, apart from the printing of four early Cretan texts in Venice (nos. 12, 16, 40, and 42), the great majority of the rest have come down to us in manuscripts that were not copied in Crete or by Cretan copyists outside Crete. None of the best-known manuscript collections of medieval Greek vernacular texts—Vindobonensis Theol. gr. 244,²³ Neap. gr. III. A. a. 9 and III. B. 27, and Constantinopolitanus, Serail 35—shows any discernible connection with Crete and, characteristically, none of the three surviving manuscripts of Stefanos Sachlikes' works is Cretan.²⁴ This is strange, if we take into account the fact that a considerable number of Greek manuscripts from 1450 onwards were either copied in Crete or by Cretans elsewhere. Almost two-thirds of the texts of early Cretan literature (thirty out of forty-seven, or almost 61 percent, consisting of 15,711 verses out of 25,543, or almost 62 percent), among them some of Sachlikes' and Marinos Falieros' poems, works by Leonardos Dellaportas, Andreas Sklentzas, and the "Old and New Testament," have been preserved in a single manuscript, which means that we owe their survival to pure luck. So, given that Cretans were certainly keen writers of poetry,²⁵ we can assume that the literary texts which survived (most of them, as stated above, outside Crete and rather fortuitously) constitute only a part, perhaps a small part, of the works composed in Crete in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. There is no way, however, to calculate the extent of what has been lost.

Before dealing with these texts and their Italian background in more detail, a look at the historical and cultural circumstances that gave birth to them seems to be in order. Like many a Greek-speaking region of the Byzantine Empire before 1204, Crete is not known to have been a place where literature of any kind was produced, although the island is said to have had a level of literacy higher than other Byzantine provincial regions in the twelfth century.²⁶ Things remained the same during the first century or so

²³ Despite Gareth Morgan's assertion ("Three Cretan Manuscripts," *Kp.Xpov.* 8 [1954], 65–67), there is no evidence whatsoever that the Vindobonensis is of Cretan origin or that it was copied by a Cretan: see H. Hunger, W. Lackner, and Ch. Hannick, *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, III.3: *Codices Theologici 201–337* (Vienna, 1992), 145–57. On manuscripts copied in Crete between the 11th and 14th centuries, see A. Pertusi, *Leonzio Pilato fra Petrarca e Boccaccio* (Venice-Rome, 1964), 32 n. 1.

²⁴ N. M. Panagiotakes, "Μελετήματα περὶ Σοχλίκη," *Kp.Xpov.* 27 (1987), 10.

²⁵ Especially so, it seems, in the region of Rethymnon. There is the case of the priest in the province of Amari who actually corresponded in verse in the first half of the 15th century. Four of his versified letters, still unpublished, were obviously revised in order to be used as epistolographic models (in Bodl. Baroccianus gr. 216, pp. 448–58). From a church in the village of Hagia Paraskeue in Amari comes the earliest, to my knowledge, votive inscription (1516) composed in vernacular verse (nine political verses) (G. Gerola, *Monumenti veneti dell'isola di Creta*, IV [Venice, 1932], 499–500). An amusing interpretation of this persistent tradition of poetry writing in the region is offered two centuries later (1696) by Giovanni Papadopulo (a former high official of the Venetian administration in Candia and father of Nicolaus Comnenus Papadopoli, the author of *Historia Gymnasii Patavini*) in the unpublished *Mémoires* he wrote as a refugee in Padua: "quelli abitanti avevano una naturalità, benché fossero persone ordenarie e senza lettere, da far il Poeta con amirazione di tutti quelli dell'altre Città che l'avessero praticati; che sopra ciò correva concetto, insussistente però, che per esser stato Rettimo nel sito, benché lontanissimo e per mare, all'incontro d'Atene, per qualche occulto misterio penetrava quella aria a Rettimo che causava facile la Poesia" (Museo Civico Correr di Venezia, mss. Provenienze Diverse 122a, fols. 159v–160r).

²⁶ According to Nicolas Oikonomides, whose paper "Η ἐγγραμματοσύνη τῶν Κρητικῶν γύρω στὰ 1200" will be published in the Acts of the Seventh International Congress of Cretan Studies (held in Rethymnon in 1991). One of the very few Cretan texts surviving from the 13th century is the Greek version of the treaty

of Venetian rule, a period of continuing cultural stagnation, which no doubt was made worse by the ravages of war and the resulting political and social instability. Until about 1370, with a few respite, Cretan Greeks were engaged in a continuous struggle to drive out their entrenched conquerors. During this period no fewer than twelve major uprisings are recorded.²⁷ It was only after the middle of the fifteenth century that the Venetians were finally able to establish undisputed sway over the whole island.²⁸ However, neither political and economic measures nor military vigilance were sufficient to secure Venetian domination. The Venetians soon realized that ethnic awareness was closely connected with Orthodoxy: if their Greek Orthodox subjects, who constituted more than 95 percent of the population,²⁹ were to be won over by the Latin church, this would ensure a greater degree of submission and a much more peaceful coexistence. Thus, from the very beginning, the Venetians abolished the Orthodox hierarchy and kept the activities of the lower clergy under strict state control.³⁰ Such measures were bound to exacerbate the historical hatred between Greeks and Latins and to create a deep psychological division between the Venetians and their Cretan subjects; they both lived in an atmosphere of mutual suspicion and distrust, each attached to their own traditions.

Italian cultural influence is hardly evident in the first half of the fourteenth century, although there are traces of Western influence on Cretan frescoes dated to the second half of that century.³¹ Cretan Greeks kept steadfastly to their own language and cultural traditions, which were to prove much more durable in Crete than those introduced by

between the Venetians and the rebel Alexios Kallerges (1299), composed by the πρωτοψάλτης and ταβουλάριος of Crete, Nikephoros Oreinàs (K. D. Mertzios, “Η συνθήκη Ἐνετῶν-Καλλέργη καὶ οἱ συνοδεύοντες αὐτῆν κατάλογοι,” *Kρ.Χρον.* 3 [1949], 264–75). This text, written in a mixed language, is the earliest Cretan text in prose where the Greek vernacular is used so extensively.

²⁷ S. Xanthoudides, ‘Η ἐνετοκρατία ἐν Κρήτῃ καὶ οἱ κατὰ τῶν Ἐνετῶν ἀγῶνες τῶν Κρητῶν’, *Texte und Forschungen zur Byzantinisch-Neugriechischen Philologie* 34 (Athens, 1939), 27–110. On the first two centuries of Venetian rule in Crete, see also S. Borsari, *Il dominio veneziano a Creta nel XIII secolo* (Naples, 1963); M. Gallina, *Vicende demografiche a Creta nel corso del XIII secolo*, *Studi Bizantini e Slavi* 2 (Rome, 1984); idem, *Una società coloniale del Trecento: Creta fra Venezia e Bisanzio*, *Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Venezie, Miscellanea di Studi e Memorie* 28 (Venice, 1989); and S. Cosentino, *Aspetti e problemi del feudo veneto-cretese (secc. XIII-XIV)*, *Studi Bizantini e Slavi* 3 (Bologna, 1987). For a survey of the vast literature on Venetian Crete, see M. Manoussakas, “Σύντομος ἐπισκόπησις τῶν περὶ τὴν βενετοκρατουμένην Κρήτην ἐρευνῶν,” *Kρ.Χρον.* 23 (1971), 245–308.

²⁸ I.e., after the so-called conspiracy of Sefes (i.e., Joseph) Vlastòs. See M. Manoussakas, ‘Η ἐν Κρήτῃ συνωμοσία τῶν Σήφη Βλαστοῦ (1453–1454) καὶ ἡ νέα συνωμοτική κίνησις τοῦ 1460–1462’ (Athens, 1960).

²⁹ The computation of this percentage is based on numbers of a much later date—the 16th century—when one would expect that the Latin element would have increased. Thus, out of a population of 219,000 in 1577 (V. Lamansky, *Secrets d'Etat de Venise* [St. Petersburg, 1884], 641), in 1583 “non sono 2000 che vivino alla latina” (A. Stella, *Chiesa e stato nelle relazioni dei nunzi pontifici a Venezia: Ricerche sul giurisdizionalismo veneziano dal XVI al XVIII secolo*, ST 239 [Vatican City, 1964], 314). During the 14th and 15th centuries the percentage may have been higher.

³⁰ For a general survey of this subject, see N. V. Tomadakes, “Η θρησκευτικὴ πολιτικὴ τῆς Ἐνετίας ἐν Κρήτῃ ἔναντι τῶν ὄρθοδόξων Κρητῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ ΙΓ’ ἕως τοῦ ΙΕ’ οἰώνος,” *Ἐπιστ.Ἐπ.Φιλ.Σχ.* Αθ. 20 (1969–70), 21–38, and G. Fedalio, *La Chiesa Latina in Oriente*, I (Verona, 1973), 312–52.

³¹ M. Vassilakes-Mavrokakes, “Western Influences on the Fourteenth-Century Art of Crete,” *JÖB* 32.5 (XVI. Internationaler Byzantinistenkongress. Akten II.5) (Vienna, 1982), 301–11. On cultural influences in and out of Venice with regard to the Greek East, see A. E. Laiou, “Venice as a Centre of Trade and of Artistic Production in the Thirteenth Century,” in *Il Medio Oriente e l’Occidente nel arte del XIII secolo*, ed. H. Belting (Bologna, 1982), 11–26.

their conquerors, and continued to look to the declining Byzantine Empire for spiritual guidance and political and military help. There is a certain tragic dimension in the fact that for two centuries after the conquest the names of the Byzantine emperors continued to be mentioned in church inscriptions in the Cretan countryside.³² However, by the end of the fifteenth century, especially after the fall of Constantinople, this sort of hopeless irredentism was gradually abandoned, and Latin culture (but certainly not Latin dogma) found ways to insinuate itself slowly but steadily into the urban centers of the island. There were three such centers: the capital, Kastro or Megalo Kastro or Chandakas (as the city of Candia, today's Iraklion, was called by the Greeks, a large and prosperous town of about 10,000 inhabitants around 1400),³³ Chanià (Canea), and Rethymnon (Rettimo). In the Cretan towns, Italian culture could and did take hold much more easily and in a manner much more pronounced than in other Greek-speaking territories occupied by the Venetians or the Genoese.

This process of acculturation was facilitated by the fact that education in general was of a comparatively high standard.³⁴ Greek was taught in classes conducted within monasteries in the towns and throughout the countryside. For example, such was the case of the monk Athanasios, to whom Demetrios Kydones wrote in a letter dated ca. 1389: “Πάνυ δὲ ἥσθη μαθών σε τοῖς Κρητῶν παισὶν ἥν σαντῷ συνέλεξας σοφίαν εἰς μέσον προθέντα· σύ τε γὰρ τῶν ὄντων μεταδιδοὺς πλείω τὰ κτηθέντα ποιήσεις καὶ τῇ πατρίδι τὰ τροφεῖα διὰ τῶν μαθητῶν ἀποδώσεις, ἀγαθοὺς πολίτας ἐτοιμάζων αὐτῇ” (I was very pleased to hear that you are imparting the wisdom you have acquired to young Cretans. By doing so you will further increase your knowledge and you will repay the dues you owe your country by preparing your students to be good citizens).³⁵ In the towns Greek was also taught, more often by house tutors or private schoolmasters, who attracted a small number of students around them. These teachers would occasionally sign a contract with the parents and undertake to teach their charges reading and writing.³⁶ Such no doubt

³² Gerola, *Monumenti*, IV, 393, 459, 480, 513, 516, 538, 565, 568, 570, 572, 584, 589. It is also noteworthy that the brothers Michael and Konstantinos Atouemes, refugees from Ephesus and copyists of the Patm. 891, would state in the colophon, dated to 1310, that they copied this manuscript in Crete “during the reign of the great king *kyr Andronicus*” (A. Kominis, *Facsimiles of Dated Patmian Codices* [Athens, 1970], 32–3).

³³ There were between 8,000 and 10,000 people in the 14th century, according to Freddy Thiriet (*La Romanie vénitienne au Moyen Age: le développement et l'exploitation du domaine colonial vénitien (XIIe–XVe siècles)* [Paris, 1959], 268). In the 16th century it surpassed 15,000: A. Xeroukhakes, ‘Η βενετοκρατούμενη Ανατολή: Κρήτη καὶ Επτάνησος’ (Athens, 1934), 49–50; S. G. Spanakes, *Μνημεῖα τῆς Κρητικῆς Ιστορίας*, III (Iraklion, 1953), 103–4; idem, “Στατιστικὲς εἰδήσεις περὶ Κρήτης τοῦ τέλους τοῦ 16ου αἰώνα,” *Kρ.Χρον.* 12 (1958), 330; N. D. Zoudianos, *Ιστορία τῆς Κρήτης ἐπὶ ἐνετοκρατίας* (Athens, 1960), 287–88, and I. G. Giannopoulos, ‘Η Κρήτη κατὰ τὸν τέταρτο βενετοκρητικὸ πόλεμο (1570–1571)’ (Athens, 1978), 38. On the city of Candia and its importance, see Thiriet, “Candie, grande place marchand dans la première moitié du XVe siècle,” *Kρ.Χρον.* 15–16 (1961–62) (*Πεπραγμένα τοῦ Α΄ Διεθνοῦς Κρητολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου*, II), 338–52 (= *Etudes sur la Romanie gréco-vénitienne, Xe–XVe siècles* [London, 1977], art. ix); R. Gertwagen, “The Venetian Port of Candia, Crete (1299–1363): Construction and Maintenance,” in *Mediterranean Cities: Historical Perspectives*, ed. I. Malkin and R. L. Hohlfelder (London, 1988), 141–58, and M. Gallina, “Finanza, credito e commercio a Candia fra la fine del XIII secolo e l'inizio del XIV,” *Memorie dell' Accademia delle Scienze di Torino*, II: *Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche*, ser. 5, vol. 7–8 (Turin, 1986), 3–68.

³⁴ On education in Crete under Venetian rule, see N. M. Panagiōtakēs, “Η παιδεία κατὰ τὴ βενετοκρατία,” in *Κρήτη: Ιστορία καὶ Πολιτισμός*, II (as in note 1 above), 165–95.

³⁵ *Démétrius Cydonès Correspondance*, II, ed. R. J. Loenertz, ST 208 (Vatican City, 1960), 304, no. 408.

³⁶ Cf. A. Pertusi, “Leonzio Pilato a Creta prima del 1358–1359. Scuole e cultura a Creta durante il sec. XIV,” *Kρ.Χρον.* 15.2 (1963), 363–80. It was a common enough practice at the time: see E. Santschi, “Contrats

were the schools frequented, according to their own testimony, by both Sachlikes and Dellaportas.³⁷ Already by the middle of the fourteenth century the conditions for studying Greek in Crete must have been quite satisfactory. It was around that time that a Greek of southern Italy came to Crete to study Greek: Leontios Pilatos, translator of Homer into Latin, Greek teacher of Petrarch, and an acquaintance of Boccaccio.³⁸ Private tutors also taught Latin to the Venetians and to some Greeks in the towns, where the possibility of a more systematic instruction in Latin existed in the Catholic monasteries. Latin, understandably more favored than Greek, seems to have been taught well enough to produce scholars of prestige, such as Petros Philarges, the future Pope Alexander V (1409–10), who left Crete as a well-instructed young man,³⁹ and Lauro Quirini, the Venetian humanist, who spent most of his life (ca. 1420–38, 1452–79) in Crete.⁴⁰ The Greek Orthodox did not lack their own scholars, such as Joseph Philagres, called διδάσκαλος τῆς Κρήτης (teacher of Crete), undoubtedly on account of his teaching and preaching in southern Crete, where he wrote a number of works, among them a commentary on Aristotle's "Categories," and Neilos Damilas, in the southeastern province of Hierapetra, who was a theologian in the purest Byzantine vein.⁴¹

During the fifteenth century a conspicuous increase of scholarly activity took place in Crete, a phenomenon that should be related to a marked improvement in the quality of the education provided. It seems that the education a gifted student could receive in both Latin and Greek was of a comparatively high order or, at any rate, more than adequate. A group of scholars formed around Ioannes Symeonakes, the Orthodox *protopapas* (πρωτοπαπάς, archpriest) of Candia, a scholar and a well-known copyist (who died before 1452).⁴² Apart from, or in conjunction with, their teaching, the members of this group

de travail et d'apprentissage en Crète vénitienne au XIV^e siècle d'après quelques notaires," *Revue suisse d'histoire* 19 (1969), 34–73.

³⁷ Panagiotakes, "Η παιδεία," 167–68.

³⁸ Pertusi, *Leonzio Pilato*, 30–34.

³⁹ See F. Ehrle, *Der Sentenzenkommentar Peters von Candia, des Pisaners Papstes Alexander V* (Münster, 1925), and K. Binder, "Der Pisaner Papst Alexander V. und seine Lehre von der Erbsünde," *Jahrbuch des Stiftes Klosterneuburg*, n.s., 8 (1973), 7–55; Z. N. Tsirpanles ("Σελίδες ἀπὸ τὴ μεσαιωνικὴ ἴστορία τῆς Νισύρου (1306–1453)," *Δωδεκανησιακὰ* 2 [1967], 29–50 = 'Η Ρόδος καὶ οἱ Νότιες Σποράδες στὰ χρόνια τῶν Ἰωαννιτῶν [Rhodes, 1991], 38–41) argues that Philarges' family probably came from the island of Nisyros in the Dodecanese. Prof. Geanakoplos is preparing a monograph on Pope Alexander V (cf. *Constantinople and the West*, 46 n. 30 and 276 n. 65). In 1417 and 1448 St. Francis' monastery in Candia, in which Pope Alexander V was a novice, possessed a library rich in Latin ecclesiastical writings: see G. Hofmann, "La biblioteca scientifica del monastero di San Francesco a Candia nel medioevo," *OPC* 8 (1942), 317–60.

⁴⁰ See *Lauro Quirini umanista*, ed. K. Krautter et al., collected and presented by V. Branca (Florence, 1977), where, however, Quirini's Cretan background is hardly mentioned. Lauro is the Δάφνις in Michael Apostoles' correspondence (H. Noiret, *Lettres inédites de Michel Apostolis* [Paris, 1886], 43–45 [twelve letters]).

⁴¹ G. Papazoglou, 'Ιωσήφ Φιλάγρης ἡ Φιλάγριος (Thessalonike, 1978), and M. M. Nikolidakes, *Νεῖλος Δαμιλᾶς* (Herakleion, 1982). As doctoral dissertations (University of Ioannina), these studies superseded all previous literature on Philagres and Damilas. See also, E. Gamillscheg and D. Harlfinger, *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten, 800–1600*, pt. 1: *Handschriften aus Bibliotheken Grossbritanniens*, A: *Verzeichnis der Kopisten* (Vienna, 1981), 110–11, 157–58. A significant Orthodox presence during the same period was the theologian Joseph Bryennios from Constantinople, who lived and taught in Crete for a long time (1381–1400 ca.). (N. V. Tomadakes, 'Ο Ιωσήφ Βρυέννιος καὶ ἡ Κρήτη κατὰ τὸ 1400: Μελέτη φιλολογικὴ καὶ ἴστορικὴ [Athens, 1947], 83–138).

⁴² S. G. Mercati, "Di Simeonachis protopapa di Candia," *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati*, III, ST 123 (Vatican City, 1946), 312–41 (= *Collectanea Byzantina*, II [Bari, 1970], 24–53); M. Manoussakas, "Βενετικὰ ἔγγραφα

cultivated antiquarian and literary studies in the best tradition of Byzantine scholarship, and at the same time maintained close ties to persons affiliated with the Italian Renaissance. Rinuccio Aretino, who was a student of Symeonakes, praises him in no uncertain terms: “vir nostrae aetatis litteratissimus, cuius industria, opere et diligentia derivatum est quicquid graecarum litterarum ad nos effluxit.”⁴³ A former member of Symeonakes’ group was probably Georgios Trapezountios (erroneously called George of Trebizond) (1395–1472/73), a major scholar of the Italian Renaissance, who on his arrival in Italy from Crete in 1415, as a young man of little more than twenty years of age, held his own against no less a scholar than Guarino Veronese in a discussion of Pindar and Greek meter, and demonstrated an excellent knowledge of Homer, Euripides, Plato, Herodotus, and Plutarch.⁴⁴ Symeonakes is the author of, among other works, a monody on the death of a teacher of Greek in Candia, Konstantinos Mylaios, whom he describes as a good mathematician, grammarian, rhetorician, an excellent teacher of children and a staunch defender of Orthodoxy.⁴⁵ The students of Symeonakes in Crete probably included the copyist Michael Lygizos, writer of a commentary on Thucydides,⁴⁶ the Orthodox *protopsaltes* (πρωτοψάλτης, first cantor) of Candia Manouel Savios, author of various writings,⁴⁷ and a few others, all of whom were able to write learned Greek as effortlessly and elegantly as the best Byzantine scholar of the first half of the fifteenth century.⁴⁸

The second half of the fifteenth century was even more important as far as scholarship and culture were concerned. To quote J. E. Powell, “During the second half of the 15th century Crete was what it never had been before and never was to be again, a prime centre of Greek culture.” In the same context Powell stresses the importance of the role played by the Byzantine refugees, “taking the classics with them not only direct to Italy but also to the Greek island of Crete. . . . and there multiplying them at astonishing

ἀναφερόμενα εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν ἱστορίαν τῆς Κρήτης τοῦ 14ον–16ον αἰώνος (πρωτοπαπάδες καὶ πρωτοψάλται Χάνδακος),” Δελτ. Ετ. Ἑλλ. 15 (1961), 160–65, 173–76, 181–94; Gamillscheg and Harlfinger, *Repertorium*, (Grossbritannien) 110; and pt. 2: *Handschriften aus Bibliotheken Frankreichs und Nachträge zu den Bibliotheken Grossbritanniens*, A: Verzeichnis der Kopisten (Vienna, 1989), 105.

⁴³ Mercati, “Di Simeonachis,” 25.

⁴⁴ J. Monfasani, *George of Trebizond: A Biography and a Study of His Rhetoric and Logic* (Leiden, 1976), 5–6; *Collectanea Trapezuntiana: Texts, Documents and Bibliographies of George of Trebizond*, ed. J. Monfasani (Binghamton, N.Y., 1984), 213, 855.

⁴⁵ Mercati, “Di Simeonachis,” 46–47.

⁴⁶ V. Laourdas, “Κρητικὰ παλαιογραφικά,” Κρ. Χρον. 4 (1950), 242–45; Gamillscheg and Harlfinger, *Repertorium*, (Grossbritannien) 151–53; (Frankreich) 146–47.

⁴⁷ T. Detorakes, “Μανουὴλ Σαβίου, πρωτοψάλτου Χάνδακος, ἐπιτάφιος στὸν Ἀλέξιο Καλλιέργη,” Θησαυρίσματα 21 (1991), 34–42.

⁴⁸ As, e.g., Petros Lambardos, whose letter addressed to Symeonakes was published by Mercati (“Di Simeonachis,” 49–50) from Bodl. Auct. T. 4.4, fols. 218r–219r. Bodl. Baroccianus gr. 65, fols. 9r–14v contains an unpublished funeral oration of the same Petros Lambardos in honor of an otherwise unknown monk named Neilos Philaretos. Other unpublished texts written by members of the same group contained in Bodl. Auct. T. 4.4 include letters by Benediktos Semitekolos to the monk Joseph Delambelas (fol. 213v–214r), and two to unnamed addressees (214v–215r), by Petros Lambardos to a monk named Kallistos (215v–216r), by Ioannes Semitekolos to the physician Emmanouel Semitekolos (216v–216v), by Petros Lambardos to a monk named Anthimos (216v–217r), by Michael Lygeus (= Lygizos) to the priest Leon Argyros (217r–217v), and by Petros Lambardos to an unidentifiable Alexios Kallerges (219r–219v). The Semitekolos and Lambardos were probably members of the Venetian patrician families of the same name (Semitecolo, Lombardo), as was probably also the case with another Cretan student of Symeonakes, Laurentius Secreto (Monfasani, *Collectanea Trapezuntiana*, 855).

rate.”⁴⁹ Although most fifteenth-century scholars and copyists were native-born Cretans, there can be little doubt about the important role played by the presence of Byzantine refugees in Crete both as visitors who stayed for a while on their way to Italy (such as Demetrios Kydones, Ianos Laskares, Manouel Kalekas, and Maximos Chrysoverges) or as settlers (such as Michael Apostoles) and about their contribution to the improvement of education and the diffusion of the arts and crafts in Crete.⁵⁰ This is borne out by the number of Cretan scholars and copyists who were active during the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries in Crete and in Italy. They played a significant part in the dissemination of Greek culture in the West, especially as teachers of Greek and as editors and printers of Greek texts, and some of them distinguished themselves as noteworthy personalities of the Italian Renaissance. I shall mention here but a few: Demetrios Damilas, who published the first entirely Greek book in 1476 in Milan, the *Erote-mata* of Konstantinos Laskares;⁵¹ Zacharias Kallierges, editor and printer of the *Etymologicum Magnum* (one of the most beautifully produced of Renaissance books) (1499) and of other texts;⁵² and, the best known of all, Markos Mousouros, “the most gifted classical scholar his nation ever produced,”⁵³ editor of a host of *editiones principes* in the Aldine presses and teacher of Greek of some well-known Renaissance scholars, including perhaps Erasmus.

Another facet of fifteenth-century Cretan culture is the extent of literacy, as shown, for example, in the original notarial acts (testaments) of an early-sixteenth-century notary of Candia (1506–32), who is also a well-known Renaissance scribe, Manouel Gregoropoulos.⁵⁴ In his notarial registers there are comparatively few instances of witnesses

⁴⁹ J. E. Powell, “The Cretan Manuscripts of Thucydides,” *CQ* 32 (1938), 108.

⁵⁰ Such, for example, is the case of the musician Ioannes Laskares, who opened a school of Byzantine music in Candia in 1411 (M. Manoussakas, “Μέτρα τῆς Βενετίας ἐναντὶ τῆς ἐν Κρήτῃ ἐπιρροῆς τοῦ πατριαρχείου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως κατ’ ἀνέκδοτα βενετικά ἔγγραφα,” *Ἐπ.Ἐτ.Βυζ.Σπ.* 30 [1960], 116, and for further bibliography, see N. M. Panagiotakes, “Η μουσικὴ στὴν Κρήτη κατὰ τὴ βενετοκρατία,” *Θησαυρίσματα* 20 [1990], 42). The same applies to the painter Nikolaos Philanthropenos (1419) (Manoussakas, “Μέτρα,” 128–44). On the teaching career of Michael Apostoles in Crete at a later date (1455–80) and on his son Aristoboulos (Arsenios) (1490–1500), see D. J. Geanakoplos, *Greek Scholars in Venice: Studies in the Dissemination of Great Learning from Byzantium to Western Europe* (Cambridge, Mass., 1962) (reprinted in 1973 under the title *Byzantium and the Renaissance*), 73–83, 167–72; Gamillscheg and Harlfinger, *Repertorium*, (Grossbritannien) 41, 143–44; (Frankreich) 38–39, 149–50. On the influx of refugees to Crete after the fall of Constantinople, see Manousakas, ‘Η ἐν Κρήτῃ συνωμοσία, 38 n. 1.

⁵¹ E. Legrand, *Bibliographie hellénique ou description raisonnée des ouvrages publiés en grec par des Grecs aux XVe et XVIe siècles*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1885), I, 1–5. On Demetrios and his brother Antonios, also a well-known Renaissance copyist, see Gamillscheg and Harlfinger, *Repertorium*, (Grossbritannien) 37–38, 68; (Frankreich) 35–36, 65–66.

⁵² E. Layton, “Zacharias and Nikolaos Kalliergis and the First Edition of the Apokopos of Bergadis,” *Θησαυρίσματα* 20 (1990), 206–17; N. M. Panagiotakes, “Τὸ κείμενο τῆς πρώτης ἔκδοσης τοῦ Ἀπόκοπου. Τυπογραφικὴ καὶ φιλολογικὴ διερεύνηση,” *Θησαυρίσματα* 21 (1991), 91–94, esp. 92 n. 1.

⁵³ L. D. Reynolds and N. G. Wilson, *Copisti e filologi: La tradizione dei classici dall’Antichità al Rinascimento*, trans. Mirella Ferrari, with a preface by G. Billanovich (Padua, 1969), 141. On Mousouros, see Geanakoplos, *Greek Scholars*, 111–66, and Gamillscheg and Harlfinger, *Repertorium*, (Grossbritannien) 145; (Frankreich) 138.

⁵⁴ See S. Kaklamanes and S. Lampakes, “Η ἔκδοση τῶν διαθηκῶν (1506–1532) τοῦ νοταρίου Μανουὴλ Γρηγοροπούλου,” *Πετρογμένα τοῦ ΣΤ’ Διεθνοῦς Κρητολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου*, II (Canea, 1991), 181–94. On Gregoropoulos as a copyist, see Gamillscheg and Harlfinger, *Repertorium*, (Grossbritannien) 134–35; (Frankreich) 132–33. His father was also a well-known copyist who probably never left Crete (1450–1500): *ibid.*, (Grossbritannien) 54–55; (Frankreich) 49–50, while his brother Ioannes was a close collaborator of Mousouros and

who were unable to sign their own name. It is important to note that the great majority of these people were middle class (merchants mostly), but some were small-scale professionals: carpenters, barrelmakers, tailors, and so on. Some of the signatures are written with obvious difficulty, others with ease, almost all of them in Greek, a few in Latin (and still fewer in Hebrew). This would certainly indicate that at least the knowledge of reading and writing, which presupposes some schooling, was not uncommon even among the less-privileged classes of the urban society in Candia and, presumably, of the other two towns of the island as well. This is important for two reasons: firstly, because the spread of literary is “one of the prerequisites for the development of a vernacular literature,”⁵⁵ and, secondly, because these semi-literate middle- and lower-middle-class people were the main consumers of Cretan literary texts, either as their readers⁵⁶ or as their listeners at public performances.⁵⁷ There is little doubt that most, perhaps all, of these texts were written in manuscript form and were intended to be read individually, but at the same time were also orally transmitted and recited in front of an audience,⁵⁸ as was usually the case with medieval literary works in Europe.

Aldus Manutius (M. Manoussakas, “Η ἀλληλογραφία τῶν Γρηγοροπούλων χρονολογουμένη,” *Ἐπ.Μεσ.Αρχ.* 6 [1956], 156–209; idem, “Sept lettres inédits (1492–1503) du recueil retrouvé de Jean Grégoropoulos,” *Θησαυρίσματα* 13 [1976], 7–39; M. Sicherl, *Johannes Cuno: Ein Wegbereiter des Griechischen in Deutschland* [Heidelberg, 1978], 185–88, 195–99 and passim).

⁵⁵ M. Alexiou, “Literature and Popular Tradition,” 250.

⁵⁶ Most of the texts appear to have been originally written down in manuscript by their authors: see, in Sachlikes’ case, Panagiotakes, “Μελετήματα,” 15–16. However, one must bear in mind that it was only by the 16th century that writing can be said “to have established itself as the form which dominated modes of composition [of vernacular literary texts]; even then, oral elements persist, while oral modes of reception continue virtually unchanged until the establishment of the printed chapbook” (M. Alexiou, “Literature and Popular Tradition,” 246). See also below, note 58.

⁵⁷ There is evidence that some texts were intended to be either read individually or recited in public. Cf., e.g., vv. 135–136 of the “Register of Noble Women” (Συναξάριον τῶν εὐγενικῶν γυναικῶν καὶ τιμιωτάτων ἀρχόντισσών) (no. 26):

Θέλω νὰ εἰπώ ὀλιγούτζικο καὶ νὰ μηδὲν βαρύνω,
τὸν διαβαστὴν καὶ ἀκροαστὴν νὰ μὴν τὸν παροχλόνω.

(K. Krumbacher, “Ein vulgärgriechische Weiberspiegel,” *SBMünch*, fasc. 3 [1905], 379); cf. also v. 137 (ἐσν όποὺ ἀναγινώσκεται). Individual reading was often done during the long and tedious sea voyages: cf. S. Kaklamanes, “Μάρκος Δεφαράνας (1503–1576), Ζακύνθιος στιχουργὸς τοῦ 16ου αἰώνα,” *Θησαυρίσματα* 21 (1991), 227 n. 4, quoting Felix Fabri (1480, 1483), who describes in detail the usual activities of the passengers aboard ships: among these activities, reading chapbooks is mentioned—“alii legunt in libellulis.” On possessors of vernacular books in Crete, either in manuscript or in print, we know nothing concrete. It is worthwhile, however, to mention that in 1583 the library of the Orthodox church of Kyria Psychosotra (Lady Savior of Souls) in Candia contained a manuscript of the “Chronicle of Morea” (Περὶ τῆς Κουνκέστας): see G. Mavromates, “Η βιβλιοθήκη καὶ ἡ κινητὴ περιουσία τῆς κρητικῆς μονῆς Βαρσαμονέρου (1644),” *Θησαυρίσματα* 20 (1990), 468 and n. 4. Public readings, when they took place, were probably incidental and improvised. It is highly unlikely that professional or semiprofessional *giullari* existed in Crete.

⁵⁸ The evidence for oral composition is nonexistent, whereas the evidence for oral transmission is plentiful: cf. Panagiotakes, “Μελετήματα,” 17–22, and “Τὸ κείμενο,” 110–14. The poor state of the text in the manuscripts of Sachlikes, Falieros, Bergadís, and Choumnos (to mention only texts of which more than one witness exists) should be attributed to the memorization of the written word and its committal to writing from memory at a later stage, perhaps on more than one occasion. The texts were continuously subjected “to numerous copies, redactions and modifications” (M. Alexiou, “Literature and Popular Tradition,” 246–47). On the complex subject of orality in Byzantine vernacular literature, see M. Jeffreys, “The Oral Background of Byzantine Popular Poetry,” *Oral Tradition* 1 (1986), 504–47; R. Beaton, “Orality and the Reception of Late

In the years after the fall of Constantinople, when hopes for liberation and national restoration ceased to be realistic, the gap between the Greek and the Latin communities in Crete began progressively to narrow, and mutual distrust was gradually replaced by a greater degree of understanding and cooperation. This development had the effect of multiplying and intensifying the various cultural contacts and exchanges between Crete and Venice.⁵⁹ The Venetians continued, of course, to favor the Latin church and to pursue, to no avail, the proselytization of their Orthodox subjects, especially after the Council of Florence, whose edicts met with a dismal failure in Crete.⁶⁰ Dogmatic controversies, however, had by then lost much of their sharpness. The urban society of Renaissance Crete was to a large extent emancipated from the narrow-minded religious fanaticism of the preceding centuries. Noteworthy at this time is the founding of a school in Candia (1462) under the control of Greek Uniates at the initiative and under the protection of that famous Renaissance Greek, Cardinal Bessarion. The teachers received their wages from the income of the Cretan estates belonging to the Latin patriarchate of Constantinople. (Bessarion was the *titularius* at the time.)⁶¹ The first teacher was a well-known Byzantine scholar, Michael Apostoles (1420–80),⁶² who appears to have been the first to have had the idea for the establishment of this school—a “μουσεῖον” as he calls it—and had been pestering Bessarion to help him realize his plan: “Δὸς τῇ Κρήτῃ τὸν “Ελληνα λόγον ἡ τὴν γλῶσσαν αὐτὴν ἀβάρβαρον ἐπὶ σοὶ διαμεῖναι” (Give Crete the Greek culture, or see that the Greek language is not barbarized) or “Θέλησον ἀνθῆσαι κάν τῇ Κρήτῃ τοὺς λόγους: εἰ γὰρ βούλοιο, δύνη” (Have the will to make letters flourish in Crete as well; for, if you wish, you can).⁶³

Not much, however, is known of how successful this school was. Bessarion’s legacy probably would not have been looked upon favorably by the Orthodox population, who would have resented its ties with Rome. The school continued to function throughout the sixteenth century and several Cretan scholars are known to have served there as instructors. Tuition was free, but the school’s declared goal, to make good Catholics out of its students, was bound not to attract many non-Catholic students. Nevertheless, this school served as a focal point of Cretan Uniates, some of them Greek scholars of repute.

Byzantine Vernacular Literature,” *BMGS* 14 (1990), 174–84; D. Holton, “Orality in Cretan Narrative Poetry,” *ibid.*, 174–84, and, most recently, M. Jeffreys, “Proposal for the Debate on the Question of Oral Influence in Early Modern Greek Poetry,” *Origini della letteratura neogreca*, I (as in note 4 above), 251–66; G. M. Sefakes, “Τὸ πρόβλημα τῆς προφορικότητας στὴ μεσαιωνικὴ δημώδη γραμματεία,” *ibid.*, 267–84; for a different view, see G. Spadaro, “Oralità nella letteratura greca medievale in demotico?” *ibid.*, 285–305.

⁵⁹See, e.g., F. Babinger, “Johannes Darius (1414–1494), Sachwalter Venedigs im Morgenland und sein griechischer Umkreis,” *SBMünch*, fasc. 5 (1961), 52–56, 71–86, and *passim*; *idem*, “Venetokretische Geistesstrebungen um die Mitte des XV. Jahrhunderts,” *BZ* 57 (1964), 62–77.

⁶⁰See N. V. Tomadakes, “Μιχαὴλ Καλοφρενᾶς Κρής, Μητροφάνης Β’ καὶ ἡ πρὸς τὴν “Ενωσιν τῆς Φλωρεντίας ἀντίθεσις τῶν Κρητῶν,” *Ἐπ.Ἐτ.Βυζ.Σπ.* 21 (1951), 110–44; Z. N. Tsirpanles, “Il decreto fiorentino di Unione e la sua applicazione nell’Arcipelago Greco. Il caso di Creta e di Rodi,” *Θησαυρίσματα* 21 (1991), 47–51.

⁶¹Z. N. Tsirpanles, Τὸ κληροδότημα τοῦ καρδιναλίου Βησσαρίωνος γιὰ τοὺς φιλενωτικοὺς τῆς βενετοκρατούμενης Κρήτης (1439–17ος αι.) (Thessalonike, 1987), 82–129.

⁶²On Michael Apostoles, see Gamillscheg and Harlfinger, *Repertorium*, (Grossbritannien) 149–50; (Frankreich) 143–44; M. Manfredini, “Michele Apostolis scriba dalla sua corrispondenza,” *Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell’Università di Napoli* 28 (1985–86), 139–53.

⁶³Legrand, *Bibliographie*, II, 248, 250.

They included, apart from Michael Apostoles, his son Aristoboulos (Arsenios) (1468/69–1535); the copyist Georgios Alexandrou, who became the Catholic bishop of Arcadia in Crete,⁶⁴ his son Alexandros, who in cooperation with Nikolaos Kavadatos, *protopapas* of Canea, established a Greek printing press in Venice prior to 1486 and published two books;⁶⁵ Emmanuel Atramyttenos (ca. 1444–85), a student of Michael Apostoles and Pico della Mirandola's and Aldus' teacher of Greek;⁶⁶ Ioannes Rossos (1449–1497/78), one of the most prolific Greek copyists of the fifteenth century,⁶⁷ and Ioannes Plousiadenos, later metropolitan of Monemvasia (1429?–1500).⁶⁸ Plousiadenos, a writer of elegant Greek, also tried his hand at vernacular verse.⁶⁹ His “Virgin's Lament” (Θρῆνος τῆς Θεοτόκου) (no. 28) seems to be of Byzantine inspiration rather than Latin (a language which he knew), although, of course, this was a theme common enough, and widely diffused in the East as well as in the West.⁷⁰

Greek replaced Italian, the official language of administration, among the Venetian settlers, who used it in everyday speech like the natives. Vernacular Greek was even adopted as an alternative language of preaching in the Latin churches and monasteries of Candia,⁷¹ perhaps as early as the end of the fourteenth century. In fact, around 1395 an Italian theological work, the commentary on the Apocalypse by Federigo da Venezia, was translated in Crete into learned, although occasionally incorrect, Greek.⁷² This trans-

⁶⁴ Gamillscheg and Harlfinger, *Repertorium*, (Grossbritannien) 51–52; (Frankreich) 47–48. See also, N. M. Panagiotakes, “Ἀντιγραφεῖς καὶ κείμενα τοῦ κώδικα Marcianus Graecus IX.17. Ἀνδρέας Σκλέντζας,” *Ἀριάδνη* 2 (1984), 117–118, 125 (= ‘Ο ποιητὴς τοῦ “Ἐρωτοκρίτου” καὶ ὅλλα βενετοκρητικὰ μελετήματα

[Herakleion, 1989], 362–99).

⁶⁵ Legrand, *Bibliographie*, I, 6–9.

⁶⁶ Gamillscheg and Harlfinger, *Repertorium*, (Grossbritannien) 76; (Frankreich) 71.

⁶⁷ Ibid., (Grossbritannien) 104–5; (Frankreich) 101–2; M. G. Fornaci, “Giovanni Rhosso e Grottaferrata,” *BollGrot* 44 (1990), 217–29. Other important Cretan 15th-century copyists include Andreas Donos, Georgios Tzangaropoulos, Georgios Trivizias (before 1423–1485), and Thomas Vitzimanos: Gamillscheg and Harlfinger, *Repertorium*, (Grossbritannien) 32–34, 61–63; (Frankreich) 32–33, 55, 84.

⁶⁸ M. Manoussakas, “Recherches sur la vie de Jean Plousiadènos (Joseph de Méthone) (1429?–1500),” *REB* 17 (1959), 28–51; Gamillscheg and Harlfinger, *Repertorium*, (Grossbritannien) 103–4; (Frankreich) 100–102.

⁶⁹ M. Manoussakas, “Ἀνέκδοτοι στίχοι καὶ νέος αὐτόγραφος κώδικς τοῦ Ἰωάννου Πλουσιαδηνοῦ,” *Ἀθηνᾶ* 68 (1965), 49–59; P. Vassiliou, “Ο αὐτόγραφος Θρῆνος τῆς Θεοτόκου τοῦ Ἰωάννη Πλουσιαδηνοῦ,” *Ἐλληνικά* 32 (1980), 267–87. He was also the first, or one of the first, to introduce Western polyphony in Crete: see D. Conomos, “Experimental Polyphony ‘According to the . . . Latins’ in Late Byzantine Psalmody,” *Early Music History* 2 (1982), 1–16, and Panagiotakes, “Η μουσική στὴν Κρήτη,” 51.

⁷⁰ On Virgin's Laments in Greek, see M. Manoussakas, “Ἐλληνικὰ ποιήματα γιὰ τὴν Σταύρωση τοῦ Χριστοῦ,” *Mélanges offerts à Octave et Melpo Merlier*, II (Athens, 1952), 51–60; M. Manoussakas and O. Parlangéli, “Ἄγνωστο κρητικὸ Μυστήριο τῶν Παθῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ,” *Κρ.Χρον.* 8 (1954), 109–32; B. Bouvier, *Le mirologue de la Vierge: Chansons et poèmes grecs sur la Passion du Christ*, Bibliotheca Helvetica Romana 16 (Geneva, 1976); M. Alexiou, “The Lament of the Virgin in Byzantine Literature and Modern Greek Folk Song,” *BMGS* 3 (1977), 23–43. Apart from the one by Falieros (no. 16), Virgin's Laments were also written by Dellaportas (no. 10) and by the unknown versifier of the “Old and New Testament” (no. 45). Between ca. 1493 and 1508 no fewer than sixteen editions of Italian chapbooks (with titles such as *Lamento* (or *Pianto*) *della Vergine Maria* or similar) were published in Italy, most of them in Venice (A. J. Schutte, *Printed Italian Vernacular Religious Books, 1465–1550: A Finding List*, *Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 194 [Geneva, 1983], 261–62; cf. also A. Linder, *Plainte de la Vierge en vieux vénitien*, a critical edition preceded by a linguistic and literary introduction [Uppsala, 1898]; F. Ermini, *Lo Stabat Mater: I Pianti della Vergine nella lirica del Medio Evo* [Città di Castello, 1916]).

⁷¹ See Panagiotakes, “Ἀντιγραφεῖς,” 109–10.

⁷² G. Stadtmüller, *Eine griechische Übersetzung des italienischen Apokalypsenkommentars von Federigo da Venezia* O.P., *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Altchristlichen Literatur* IV.2 (Leipzig, 1932), 2. A

lation of an obscure work by a little-known early-fourteenth-century Italian theologian is the first ever literal translation of an Italian text into Greek. Preaching in vernacular Greek in Latin churches may have influenced Orthodox homilists to adopt a simpler and less affected Greek style. As far as we know, the first sermons written in this kind of Greek, with a strong influence from the vernacular, were in fact composed in Crete after the fall of Constantinople and during the last decades of the fifteenth century by an Orthodox monk from Hierapetra, Nathanael (Neilos) Bertos.⁷³ Bertos is also the author of three tortuous and insipid poems (nos. 23–25), in the best Byzantine didactic and moralistic tradition,⁷⁴ describing, and severely condemning, the corruption of priests and laymen, “spiritual fathers” and monks, men and women, “in this Seventh Age,” that is, before the end of the world, which was expected to occur in 1492/93: “Στιχοπλοκία εἰς τουτὸν τὸν ἔβδομον αἰώνα, περιέχων [sic] ἀνελλιπῶς πάσας τὰς πράξεις σχεδὸν τῶν κατ’ ἐμὲ διαφθαρμένων ἀνθρώπων, ιερέων καὶ λαϊκῶν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ πνευματικῶν πατέρων καὶ μοναχῶν, ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ γυναικῶν”⁷⁵ His sermons, on the other hand, are written in a vivid and emotional prose that must have been pleasing to his audiences, effective, and, judging by the number of manuscripts that preserve them, quite popular.⁷⁶

The great majority of Cretans, particularly women and peasants, did not know Italian at all, whereas Cretan Latins, in general, spoke Greek as their mother language (*sermo maternus*).⁷⁷ Actually, there were a number of Latins who were ignorant of Italian, as well as members of the Catholic clergy who were ignorant of Latin, a state of affairs that scandalized both bishops and public officials elected in Venice and sent to serve in Crete.⁷⁸ This process of linguistic hellenization enveloped the Catholic ruling classes as

manuscript of the original Italian work, now Paris. Ital. 86, was copied in Crete by the notary Giovanni Dono in 1409, the first Latin manuscript known to have been copied in Crete (ibid., 38). Another one, no. 42365 in Central Library, Wigan (*Logica of Paulus Venetus*), was copied in Canea in 1440 by a German named Petrus Wickerau, *dum ociosus ibidem degerem* (P. O. Kristeller, *Iter Italicum*, IV (Alia Itinera II), Great Britain to Spain [London-Leiden, 1989], 274). See also, below, “Postscript,” pp. 321–23.

⁷³ K(onstantinos) I. D(yovouniotes), “Ναθαναὴλ ιερομόναχος,” Ιερὸς Σύνδεσμος 9 (1 November 1913), 204 nn. 1–2; J. Leroy, “Un prédicateur populaire byzantin,” *Revue d’ascétisme et de mystique* 29, no. 116 (October–December 1953), 300–316; B. Schartau, “Om munken Neilos/Nathanael Bertos, en senbyzantinsk moralprædikant,” *Museum Tusculanum*, 21–22 (1973), 67–92; idem, “Nathanaelis Berti sermones quatuordecim,” *Cahiers de l’Institut du Moyen-Age Grec et Latin* 12 (1974), 11–85, and H. Aposkiti-Stammler, *Nathanael-Nilos Bertos: Vindobonensis Hist. Gr. 91, Nr. 59* (Munich, 1974), 21–37, 166–246.

⁷⁴ Aposkiti-Stammler, *Nathanael-Nilos Bertos*, 74–165. The editor, following the manuscript, publishes as distinct three poems of unequal length (nos. 23, 24, 25), which probably belong together, forming a unitary poem. (The longer one was expanded with the addition of two supplements.) Bertos lived for part of his life in Rhodes and mentions the Hospitallers (vv. I, 1,380–81).

⁷⁵ A. Vassiliev, “Medieval Ideas of the End of the World: West and East,” *Byzantium* 16 (1942–1943), 497. See also, R. K. Emmerson, *Antichrist in the Middle Ages: A Study in Medieval Apocalypticism, Art and Literature* (Seattle, 1984), 57–58, 160, and A. Rigo, “L’anno 7000, la fine del mondo e l’impero Christiano. Nota su alcuni passi di Giuseppe Briennio, Simeone di Tessalonica e Gennadio Scolario,” *La Cattura della Fine: Variazioni dell’escatologia in regime di Cristianità*, ed. G. Ruggieri (Genoa, 1992), 153–85.

⁷⁶ Panagiotakes, “Αντιγραφεῖς,” 101–4; see also, I. Elioudes, “Πρώτη δημόδη πεζὰ νεοελληνικὰ κείμενα,” *Origini della letteratura neogreca*, II (as in note 4 above), 396 and n. 1.

⁷⁷ Panagiotakes, “Αντιγραφεῖς,” 109–10.

⁷⁸ A. Xerouchakes, *Αἱ σύνοδοι τοῦ Γερόλαμο Λάντο* (1467–1474–1486) (Athens, 1933), 72; cf. ms. Museo Correr, *Miscellanea Correr* 1211 (no. 2707), fols. 28v–29r (1474): “suntque aliqui nostri canonici, quod dolenter referimus, et in aliis etiam ecclesiis beneficiati qui nec vix legere sciunt.” Even members of ancient

well, even the patricians of Italian origin, all bilingual and fluent in Greek, a language which, as we shall see, they even chose to use as their literary medium of preference in the fifteenth century. Later on, in the first half of the sixteenth century, we come across some curious cases of Latins of pure Venetian blood, Catholic clergy included, who called themselves Greeks,⁷⁹ a fact which should probably be attributed not to ethnic identification with their subjects, but rather to the exaltation of ancient Greece in Renaissance culture. Greek authors were continuously copied in Cretan scriptoria and were also taught at schools in a manner that progressively became more humanistic and less Byzantine. An emblematic case in point is a passage in a letter addressed to the patriarch Pachomios of Constantinople in 1509/10 by Arsenios Apostoles, who had been deposed from the metropolitan see of Monemvasia for his Latin sympathies. In the patriarch's letter to which Arsenios responds, a Byzantine verb of remote Latin origin had been used, known from various Byzantine texts—τρακτάζειν, meaning "to treat," "to deal with," "to examine."⁸⁰ Arsenios expresses astonishment and disdain at the use of this Byzantine verb: "Τί δὲ τὸ τρακτάζειν; Τοῦτο ἐγώ, Ἐλλην ὁν τὸ γένος, οὐκ ἐπίστωμαι" (What is the meaning of τρακτάζειν? I am a native Hellene and I do not know what it means).⁸¹ This protest is symbolic of a break, a break that marks the end of the learned Byzantine literary tradition in Crete and the beginning of a more humanistic approach to ancient Greek. There can be little doubt that the abolition of the Orthodox hierarchy, traditionally the source of linguistic conservatism, was an equally important factor contributing to the decline of the Byzantine learned tradition, thus leaving more space for the cultivation of vernacular literature. It is certainly no accident that the first Greek literary texts in dialect are found "in areas outside Byzantine control, where a break with the past and contact with the West facilitated the emergence of a qualitatively different kind of vernacular literature."⁸²

The hellenization of the conquerors is borne out by the fact that almost all of the early Cretan poets known by name belong to the upper strata of society. The members of this aristocracy were no doubt more sophisticated and better educated, knowledgeable in Greek, Latin, and Italian. They also had plenty of time at their disposal for literary pursuits. It would be a commonplace to say that in medieval times literature was written and read mainly by those who had time for it; and it is, again, no accident that almost all of these early Cretan poets are Catholic, which they had to be or become if they wanted to be fully accepted as members of the ruling classes and thus to be able to enjoy and produce literary works at their leisure. Stefanos Sachlikes is such a case. He was a land-owning Catholic Greek bourgeois of good social standing.⁸³ On the other hand, Bergadís,

noble Venetian families had lost their knowledge of Italian; see J. W. Zinkeisen, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches in Europa* I.4 (Gotha, 1856), 658 n. 2 ("Molti delli propri descendenti delli antichi nobili . . . hanno del tutto perso la intelligentia et cognitione della lingua italiana") (ca. 1575).

⁷⁹ Panagiotakes, "Αντιγραφεῖς," 110.

⁸⁰ C. Du Cange, *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae graecitatis* (Lyon, 1688), s.v.; E. A. Sophocles, *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods (from B.C. 146 to A.D. 1100)* (Cambridge, Mass., 1914), s.v.

⁸¹ M. Manoussakas, "Αρχιερεῖς Μεθώνης, Κορώνης καὶ Μονεμβασίας γύρω στὰ 1500," Πελοποννησιακά 3–4 (1958–59), 137, 139.

⁸² M. Alexiou, "Literature and Popular Tradition," 250.

⁸³ A. van Gemert, "Ο Στέφανος Σαχλίκης καὶ ἡ ἐποχή του," *Θησαυρίσματα* 17 (1980), 36–58.

the poet of “Apokopos,” was probably a member of the noble Venetian family of Bragadin in Rethymnon.⁸⁴ As for Marinos Falieros, it has been convincingly proven that he was a Venetian noble with large landholdings,⁸⁵ and the same is probably true of Ioannes Piktotoros, of the Venetian family of Pe(s)cator(e) in Rethymnon.⁸⁶ Andreas Sklentzas was a canon in the chapter of the cathedral of St. Titus in Candia,⁸⁷ and, quite probably, the anonymous poet of the “Old and New Testament” was also a member of the Latin clergy.⁸⁸ The creed of Georgios Choumnos (bearer of a well-known Byzantine surname), who should probably be identified with a well-to-do notary of the same name in Candia,⁸⁹ is unidentifiable, whereas the Italian-sounding Leonardos Dellaportas, also a rich and prominent bourgeois, calls himself a Cretan Greek and an Orthodox,⁹⁰ but may have been Catholic.⁹¹ Surnames cannot be relied upon to reveal the creed of a person in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Venetian Crete: Damilas and Bertos, undoubtedly Orthodox, have Italian surnames, while some Cretan families with purely Byzantine surnames (for example, the main branches of the Yalinàs, Eudaimonoyannes, Leontarites, and Synadenos families) were traditionally Catholic⁹²

Sachlikes has been plausibly identified with a namesake born ca. 1331/32, scion of a Greek Catholic feudal family linked by marriage to noble Venetian families of Crete. The world depicted in his poems is the troubled world of the years after the Black Death. He squandered his property, paying heavy debts he incurred living a dissolute life. He was imprisoned, then, curiously enough, appointed a lawyer of the courts; he died, after a turbulent life, around the end of the fourteenth century.⁹³ He was a gifted, versatile, and original writer. Even if he had not been, he would be remembered as being the first to introduce rhymed verse into Greek poetry, about one century after it became firmly established in Italy and at least one century before the date accepted until a few years ago for the introduction of the rhyme into the Greek East.⁹⁴ He is quite rightly called the

⁸⁴ Panagiotakes, “Τὸ κείμενο,” 1,226–27.

⁸⁵ A. van Gemert, “The Cretan Poet Marinos Falieros,” *Θησαυρίσματα* 14 (1977), 8–15; Μαρίνου Φαλιέρου Ἐρωτικὰ Ὄνειρα, a critical edition with introduction and commentary and index verborum by A. van Gemert, *Βυζαντινὴ καὶ Νεοελληνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη* 4 (Thessalonike, 1989), 15–20.

⁸⁶ Panagiotakes, “Τὸ κείμενο,” 126 n. 1.

⁸⁷ Panagiotakes, “Αντιγραφεῖς,” 101–11; A. van Gemert, “Ο Κρητικὸς ποιητὴς πὲρ Ἀνδρέας Σκλέντζας,” *Cretan Studies* 1 (1988), 97–113.

⁸⁸ Panagiotakes, “Παλαιὰ καὶ Νέα Διαθήκη,” 248 and n. 2.

⁸⁹ M. Manoussakas, “Ο ποιητὴς Γεώργιος Χούμονος, νοτάριος Χάνδακος,” *Ἐπ. Ἐτ. Βυζ. Σπ.* 21 (1951), 280–82; Beck, *Ιστορία* (as in note 5 above), 289–91. See, however, van Gemert, “Ανδρέας Σκλέντζας,” 99–100.

⁹⁰ M. Manoussakas, “Περὶ ἀγνώστου ποιητοῦ πρὸ τῆς Ἀλώσεως. Ο Λεονάρδος Ντελλαπόρτας καὶ τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῦ,” *Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν* 29 (1954), 34: “καὶ Χριστιανὸς ὄρθοδοξος καὶ Κρητικὸς ὑπάρχω.” See also idem, “Un poeta cretese ambasciatore di Venezia a Tunisi e presso i turchi: Leonardo Dellaporta e i suoi componimenti,” *Venezia e l’Oriente fra Tardo Medioevo e Rinascimento*, ed. A. Pertusi (Florence, 1966), 285.

⁹¹ W. F. Bakker and A. van Gemert, *The Λόγοι Διδακτικοὶ of Marinos Phalieros*, a critical edition with introduction, notes, and index verborum (Leiden, 1977), 79, and van Gemert, “Literary Antecedents,” 56. On the coupling of ὄρθοδοξος and καθολικὸς in “Florios,” see G. Spadaro, “Εἰς πίστιν τὴν καθολικὴν Ῥωμαίων ὄρθοδοξῶν,” *Byzantium* 36 (1966), 535–42.

⁹² Cf. N. M. Panagiotakes, “Η κρητικὴ περιόδος τῆς ζωῆς τοῦ Δομηνίκου Θεοτοκοπούλου,” *Ἀφιέρωμα στὸν Νίκο Σβορῶνο*, II (Rethymnon, 1986), 61–62.

⁹³ For a precis of his life, see van Gemert, “Literary Antecedents,” 51.

⁹⁴ M. Manoussakas and A. van Gemert, “Ο δικηγόρος τοῦ Χάντακα Στέφανος Σαχλίκης ποιητὴς τοῦ ΙΔ’ καὶ ὅχι τοῦ ΙΕ’ αιώνα,” *Πεπραγμένα τοῦ Δ’ Διεθνοῦς Κρητολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου*, II (Athens, 1981), 215, 229. For a

“father of Cretan literature,” the first to turn to the rich and expressive Cretan dialect, which was relatively free of Italian loan words, and to use it as a literary medium, “in a conscious break with the existing literary tradition” of the Byzantine vernacular Koine.⁹⁵ It has been observed that a similar development regarding the spoken dialect was taking place at the same time in Venice and northern Italy,⁹⁶ but in fact the use of dialect in Italian vernacular poetry is much older.⁹⁷

Apart from such remarkable innovative contributions, Sachlikes is a satirist of the first order, although his satire is self-serving and self-righteous rather than socially conscious. Some of his poems are realistic and autobiographical in content, a feature which relates them to similar Italian poems of the time, especially the *frottola*.⁹⁸ By the end of the thirteenth century, poems of autobiographical content were common in Italy and elsewhere,⁹⁹ and even in Byzantium such poems, albeit rare, were not unknown.¹⁰⁰ Autobiographical bits and pieces are scattered in almost all of Sachlikes’ poems, but they occur most densely in his “Remarkable Tale” (Αφίγησις παράξενος) (no. 1), where he gives a survey of his life in chronological order; they also occur in the poem on his sufferings in prison (no. 3) and in his “Advice to Frantziskis” (no. 7), the latter consisting of three separate admonitions addressed to a young man, counseling him to be wary of the night life of the city, of gambling with dice, and of associating with whores. Italian influence is quite evident in all of his poems. For example, his invective against peasants in the “Remarkable Tale”¹⁰¹ probably has its origin in anti-peasant satire, a recurring theme in medieval Romance poetry,¹⁰² while in his prison poem there are two hemistichs written in Italian, a feature also in keeping with the fashion of the so-called plurilingualism that appears in Italian poetry from the thirteenth century onwards.¹⁰³ The mention of Achil-

13th-century case of rhymed verse in a Byzantine poem in learned language written by Georgios Kallipolites of Otranto, see N. Papatriantafyllou-Theodoride, “Χρήση όμοιοικαταληξίας στὸ 13ο αιώνα;” Αφίέρωμα στὸν Ἐμμανουὴλ Κριαρᾶ (Thessalonike, 1988), 65–76. On the introduction of the rhyme in Italian poetry, see D. S. Avalle, “La rima ‘francese’ nella lirica italiana delle origini,” *Scritti in onore di Caterina Vassalini*, ed. Luigi Barbesi (Verona, 1974), 29–43; G. Sanga, *La rima trivocalica: La rima nell’antica poesia italiana e la lingua della scuola poetica siciliana* (Venice, 1992), 167–75, 229–43 (bibliography).

⁹⁵ Van Gemert, “Literary Antecedents,” 52.

⁹⁶ Ibid., 52–53.

⁹⁷ Cf., e.g., *Il fiore della lirica veneziana*, I: *Dal Duecento al Cinquecento*, ed. M. Dazzi (Venice, 1956), 46–74; A. Lomazzi, “Primi monumenti del volgare,” *Storia della Cultura Veneta*, II: *Dalle origini al Trecento* (Vicenza, 1976), 602–32.

⁹⁸ Van Gemert, “Στέφανος Σαχλίκης,” 73; Manoussakas and van Gemert, “Ο δικηγόρος,” 230.

⁹⁹ Cf., e.g., G. Petrocchi, “La Toscana nel Duecento,” *Letteratura italiana: Storia e geografia*, I (Turin, 1987), 214–18, and F. -R. Hausmann, “Komische-realistische Dichtung,” *Die italienische Literatur im Zeitalter Dantes und am Übergang vom Mittelalter zur Renaissance*, II, in *Grundriss* (Heidelberg, 1989), 179–200, 330–33, 368–70.

¹⁰⁰ See, e.g., Michael Glykas’ (12th-century) poem, written in prison (Beck, *Ιστορία*, 182–83). One of the Sachlikes’ poems (no. 3) was also composed in prison, as well as Dellaportas’ “Dialogue” (no. 8).

¹⁰¹ S. Papadimitriu, *Stefan Sakhlikis i ego stikhovorenie* Αφίγησις Παράξενος (Odessa, 1896), 19–25 (vv. 113–264).

¹⁰² Cf. P. Lehmann, *Die Parodie im Mittelalter* (Stuttgart, 1963), 112–18; F. Novati, *Carmina medii aevi* (Florence, 1883), 25–32; D. Merlini, *Saggio di ricerche sulla satira contro il villano, con appendice di documenti inediti* (Turin, 1894). The connection was first suggested by van Gemert (“Στέφανος Σαχλίκης,” 74 n. 183).

¹⁰³ Pointed out by van Gemert, “Literary Antecedents,” 52–53. On this phenomenon, see F. Brugnolo, *Plurilinguismo e lirica medievale* (Rome, 1983), and for its later continuation I. Paccagnella, *Il fasto delle lingue: Plurilinguismo letterario nel Cinquecento* (Rome, 1984). The two Italian hemistichs of Sachlikes were linguisti-

les in his poem “On Friends” (no. 2)¹⁰⁴ is probably derived from reading contemporary Italian poems of the Trojan cycle,¹⁰⁵ while his quotation from Solomon seems to be of Italian vernacular rather than scriptural origin.¹⁰⁶ Finally, his dice poem, in “Advise to Frantziskis” (no. 7), is clearly connected to similar ones composed by Francesco di Vannozzo and Antonio Beccari,¹⁰⁷ Eustache Deschamps, Rutebeuf, and others.¹⁰⁸ At the beginning of this poem there is also a probable borrowing from Dante’s *Purgatorio* (VI, 1–9).¹⁰⁹

Sachlikes’ advice about whores is extensively treated in another of his poems, the “Assembly (or Parliament) of Whores” (Ἡ βουλὴ τῶν πολιτικῶν) (no. 4), and in its supplement, the “Tournament of Whores” (no. 5), the most often read of his poems on account of their scurrility. The laurel for scurrility, however, belongs to another short poem of his, “Potha’s Song” (Καταλόγιν τῆς Πόθας) (no. 6), easily the most obscene text in medieval Greek literature.¹¹⁰ Potha is Potha Tzoustounià, i.e., Giustinian, one of the whores named in the “Parliament” who proudly boasts of her erotic exploits.¹¹¹ In the misogynous “Par-

cally examined in G. Reichenkron, “Stephanos Sachlikis. Autobiograph und Moralist. Formen der Selbstdarstellung,” *Festgabe F. Neubert* (Berlin, 1956), 363–77. On Byzantine plurilinguistic parallels, see Morgan, *Cretan Poetry*, 112–13.

¹⁰⁴ G. Wagner, *Carmina graeca medii aevi* (Leipzig, 1874), 80, vv. 35–43.

¹⁰⁵ On Achilles in Italian and other Western medieval literatures, see R. Ortiz, “La materia epica di ciclo classico nella lirica italiana delle origini,” *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana* 80 (1922), 265–94; K. C. King, *Achilles: Paradigms of the War Hero from Homer to the Middle Ages* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1987), 195–234, 305–21. On the Trojan legends in Italian medieval literature, see, e.g., R. Ortiz, “La materia epica di ciclo classico nella lirica italiana della origini,” *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana* 81 (1923), 241–56; B. Guthmüller, “Die Volgarizzamenti,” *Die italieniesche Literatur*, in *Grundriss*, II, 335 (7050), 339 (7125, 7140). G. Patecchio (13th century) also wrote a poem on friendship: *D’amigo e d’amistade* (*Poeti del Duecento*, ed. G. Contini, I (Milan-Naples, 1960), 573–76; see also the chapter on friendship in Antonio Pucci’s *Zibaldone* (Antonio Pucci: *Libro di Varie Storie*), critical edition, ed. A. Varvaro (Palermo, 1957), 242–46: *Della amistà*).

¹⁰⁶ Cf., e.g., the *Splanamento de li Proverbi de Salamone* by Patecchio (*Poeti del Duecento*, I [as in note 105 above], 557–83), and other similar texts (e.g., R. van Deyk, “La bible et l’activité traductrice dans le pays romans avant 1300,” *La littérature didactique, allégorique et satirique*, II, in *Grundriss* [Heidelberg, 1970], 74). This has to be verified. On the Byzantine Διδαχὴ Σολομῶντος, the so-called Pseudo-Spaneas, see Beck, *Iστορία*, 181; G. Danezis, *Spaneas: Vorlage, Quellen, Versionen, Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensis* 31 (Munich, 1987), 209–20. There is also at least one early 14th-century Italian parallel with Sachlikes’ invective against lawyers and judges—a sonnet by Pieraccio Tedaldi from Florence: F. Schalk (with the collaboration of W.-D. Lange), “La satire morale et littéraire,” *La littérature didactique*, II, in *Grundriss*, 316 (7440).

¹⁰⁷ *Le rime di Francesco di Vannozzo*, ed. A. Medin (Bologna, 1928), 24–25 (LXXXVIII), 240–54 (CLXXVIII), pointed out by van Gemert, “Στέφανος Σαχλίκης,” 72; Manoussakas and van Gemert, “Ο δικηγόρος,” 230. Cf. also *Le rime di Maestro Antonio da Ferrara* (Antonio Beccari), introduction, text, and commentary by L. Bel-lucci (Bologna, 1972), 245–51 (LVIII–LX); V. Rossi, “Il canzoniere inedito di Andrea Michieli detto Squarzola o Strazzola,” *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana* 26 (1895), 8–11.

¹⁰⁸ *Oeuvres complètes de Eustache Deschamps publiées d’après le manuscrit de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, ed. Marquis de Queux de Saint-Hilaire (Paris, 1884), 286–87, and also the volume edited by G. Raynaud (Paris, 1891), 253–65; *Oeuvres complètes de Rutebeuf*, ed. E. Faral et J. Hastin, I (Paris, 1977), 519–30. On the subject, see F. Semrau, *Würfel und Würfelspiel im Alten Frankreich*, Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie 23 (Halle, 1910), and W. Tauber, *Das Würfelspiel im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit: Eine kultur- und sprachgeschichtliche Darstellung* (Frankfurt am Main-Bern-New York, 1987).

¹⁰⁹ C. Luciani, “Reminiscenze dotte nell’*Apokopos* di Bergadis,” *Kp.Xpov.* 28–29 (1988–1989), 336 n. 21 (disputed by Morgan, *Cretan Poetry*, 105, who proposes Petrarch’s *De rimediis utriusque fortunae* [translated into Italian in 1427] [ibid., 105–7], but there is no real proof).

¹¹⁰ Papadimitriu, *Stefan Sachlikis*, 48–52 (vv. 812–908).

¹¹¹ On her, cf. Panagiotakes, “Μελετήματα,” 13–14. There is no point in continuing to call her Ποθοτσούτσουνιά, as does Beaton, *Medieval Greek Romance*, 201, and van Gemert, “Literary Antecedents,” 51 n. 2.

liament,” Sachlikes speaks openly and in quite realistic terms of more than seventy whores of Candia, calling them by name or nickname and by other attributes, and also occasionally naming their pimps and clients, in vivid and colorful language.¹¹² There are a few poems describing “Parliaments” (mainly of animals) in Byzantine, Italian, and other European literatures,¹¹³ but among them there is none of whores, which thus must be an original invention of Sachlikes. Obscenity is a standard feature in French *fabliaux* and, of course, not uncommon in European medieval poetry in general,¹¹⁴ but it seems that Sachlikes uses it in a special, personal manner, inventively, ingeniously, and vindictively.

In the “Parliament,” the whores are assembled to discuss matters of shared professional interest. In the “Tournament,” Sachlikes presents his heroines, divided into two groups, as jousting in a tournament for the privilege of being given permission to build a brothel on public land, an obvious imitation of the so-called *tournois de dames*, parodies of chivalric romances, where women are presented as jousting, although for much nobler reasons than Sachlikes’ heroines. Six such texts are known, four in French and two in Provençal, dating to the period between the second half of the twelfth century and the beginning of the fourteenth,¹¹⁵ but none in Italian, although the French ones are said to imitate Italian models now lost. Since it is quite improbable that Sachlikes could read French¹¹⁶ or Provençal, his presumed Italian model may have been among those lost. A parallel or alternative interpretation has been offered: that he may have borrowed the idea from actual medieval ceremonial tournaments between women or from prostitutes racing on donkeys in front of besieged cities or in yearly foot races,¹¹⁷ all occurrences well documented in Italy in various medieval sources.¹¹⁸ This would probably mean that Sachlikes had visited Italy and had obtained first-hand knowledge of these bizarre happenings. In general, Western influence in comparison with that of Byzantium is much more evident in Sachlikes’ work. Byzantine influence is, of course, also present, if as yet unexplored, especially in his didactic poems and in “Potha’s Song,” where clear echoes of the Escorial *Digenes* or, rather, of popular akritic songs have been traced.¹¹⁹

¹¹² Papadimitriu, *Stefan Sakhlikis*, 38–48 (vv. 603–811); Wagner, *Carmina graeca medii aevi*, 92–103 (vv. 378–674).

¹¹³ See, e.g., I. Tsavaré, ‘Ο Πουλολόγος, a critical edition with introduction, commentary, and index verborum, Βυζαντινή καὶ Νεοελληνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη 5 (Athens, 1987), 111–21. The entrances of whores in Sachlikes’ “Parliament” imitate those of knights in medieval tournaments (Panagiotakes, “Μελετήματα,” 37–38).

¹¹⁴ See, e.g., P. Ménard, *Les fabliaux: contes à rire du Moyen Age* (Paris, 1983), 143–65, 249. On the parodic nature of these texts, see M. Stanesco, *Jeux d’errance du chevalier médiéval: aspects ludiques de la fonction guerrière dans la littérature du Moyen Age flamboyant* (Leiden, 1988), 77, 89.

¹¹⁵ A. Pulega, *Ludi e spettacoli nel medioevo: I tornei di dame* (Milan, 1970), 87–131; Panagiotakes, “Μελετήματα,” 32–37.

¹¹⁶ Panagiotakes, “Μελετήματα,” 34 n. 1. However, there is at least one French text composed by a Cretan Greek, Emmanouel Piloti (1420), *Traité sur le passage en Terre Sainte* (D. Hemmerdinger. Iliadou, “La Crète sous la domination vénitienne et lors de la conquête turque (1322–1684): renseignements nouveaux ou peu connus d’après le pélerins et les voyageurs,” *Studi Veneziani* 9 [1967], 541, 553).

¹¹⁷ Panagiotakes, “Μελετήματα,” 33–34, 38–41.

¹¹⁸ Cf. E. Lovarini, “Die Frauenwettrennen in Padua,” *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde* 2 (1892), 56–67, and especially R. C. Trexler, “Correre la terra. Collective Insults in the Late Middle Ages,” *Mélanges de l’Ecole française de Rome: Moyen Age-Temps Modernes* 96.2 (1984), 861–91.

¹¹⁹ Morgan, *Cretan Poetry*, 47–48; van Gemert, “Literary Antecedents,” 5. Morgan’s linking of the “poem” with the Rouen *Farce* (1500–1515) (*ibid.*, 116–118) proved to be anachronistic.

Byzantine influence is much more evident in the works of Leonards Dellaportas (ca. 1330–1419/20), who was perhaps a few years older than Sachlikes, but his imitator nevertheless. He shares with Sachlikes some common personal characteristics, such as being born into a well-to-do bourgeois family, and also common life experiences, such as having been imprisoned and having served as a lawyer in Candia. His adventurous life is better documented than that of any other early Cretan poet. He was a merchant, who also served as an emissary of the Serenissima. In the second half of the fourteenth century he traveled extensively from one end of the Mediterranean to the other, from Tunisia to Trebizond, before he returned to spend his last years in Candia.¹²⁰ The bulk of his poems is still unpublished (and thus impossible to use directly), with the sole exception of “On Retribution and a Reminder to His Own Soul” (Περὶ ἀνταπόδοσεως καὶ ὑπομνηστικὸν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ψυχῆς) (no. 9), the versification of a homily of the same title attributed to the fourth-century theologian and hymnographer Ephraim the Syrian, dealing with sin and its punishment at the Last Judgment.¹²¹ This is a strange choice of a text to versify, and it offers a clear indication of the poet’s lack of inventiveness and inspiration.

The longest and most important of his poems, the “Dialogue between the Poet and the Truth” (no. 8), is only known from a published description of its contents.¹²² It was written in prison and is partly autobiographical and partly reflective and philosophical; it is structured, somewhat clumsily, as a dialogue between the poet and an imaginary female personification of Truth, who addresses him as “stranger” (ξένος). The poet inserts here and there bits of information regarding his adventurous life, and the dialogue develops further in the form of questions on the part of the poet addressed to his omniscient companion about doubts and uncertainties arising from his sufferings. The questions continue with queries about friendship, justice, and jealousy, always with reference to the poet’s experiences, then about women, good and bad, and, finally, about more general moral and dogmatic questions of Christian doctrine.

The spectrum of Dellaportas’ Byzantine reading is wide and impressive: it includes the eleventh-century “Dioptra” of Philippus Monotropos,¹²³ from which he pilfers about four hundred verses, the chronicles of Georgios Kedrenos and Konstantinos Manasses, and, most important of all, literary works in the vernacular, such as the romance of “Libistros,” and probably Ptochoprodromos and “Spaneas” as well.¹²⁴ In the “Passion of Christ” (no. 10), Dellaportas draws mainly on the Gospels and the New Testament Apocrypha, while his “Supplications” (no. 11) consists of prayers to Christ and the Virgin.¹²⁵ The models for both these poems, if such models exist, may belong to either Byzantine

¹²⁰ All studies concerning Dellaportas published by Prof. Manoussos I. Manoussakas, the discoverer of the poet’s manuscript, are cited in van Gemert, “Literary Antecedents,” 56–58; to these a recent one should be added: M. Manoussakas, “Ο ποιητὴς Λεονάρδος Ντελλαπόρτας διερμηνέας τοῦ Βενετοῦ βαῖλου στὴν Τραπεζοῦντα,” *Θησαυρίσματα* 21 (1991), 9–22.

¹²¹ M. Manoussakas, “Τὸ ὑπομνηστικὸν τοῦ Λεονάρδου Ντελλαπόρτα καὶ τὸ πεζὸ πρότυπό του,” *Ἐπ. Ἐτ. Βυζ. Σπ.* 39–40 (1972–73), 60–74.

¹²² Manoussakas, “Un poeta,” 300–306.

¹²³ H.-G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* (Munich, 1959), 642–43; H. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche Profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, II (Munich, 1978), 144.

¹²⁴ Manoussakas, “Un poeta,” 304.

¹²⁵ Ibid., 305–6.

or Western literature, where similar texts abound. His longer poem (no. 8), however, seems to be an original, if ponderous, composition, embellished by the poet with memories from readings of texts he probably possessed, both in Greek and Italian. As an emissary and an interpreter in the service of Venice, his Italian (and Latin) were certainly excellent, and, given his literary predilections, he would have read widely in both. The allegorical personification of Truth is undoubtedly of Western origin, although allegory was not unknown in Byzantium, as, for example, in the fourteenth-century poem “On Prudence” (Περί σωφροσύνης) by Theodoros Meliteniotes,¹²⁶ and more explicitly in the anonymous poem “Consolatory Discourse on Misery and Happiness” (Λόγος Παρηγορητικὸς περὶ Δυστυχίας καὶ Εὐτυχίας), which, by the way, is said to be of Cretan origin.¹²⁷ In the latter case, it is interesting to note that the copyist of one of the two manuscripts of this poem—whose literary debts to Western literature are beyond any reasonable doubt¹²⁸—after finishing his copy, comments in verse on the poem, calling it ξενακιστὸν (“strange”)¹²⁹ and declaring that “the whole story is of foreign provenance” (ὅλος ὁ μῦθος ξένος).¹³⁰ Other Western elements in Dellaportas’ long poem include the juxtaposition of good and bad women with examples from antiquity and the Scriptures,¹³¹ the insertion of novelistic material, such as the stories of the Widow of Ephesus¹³² and of Virgil in the basket,¹³³ and, finally, the reference to the murder of Marsiglietto di Carrara in 1345 in Padua, which was probably taken from a written source, as yet unidentified.¹³⁴

With Marinos Falieros we leave Sachlikes’ low-life world and Dellaportas’ half-hearted allegory and are transported to a world of fully fledged allegory and romance. Falieros was born before 1395 in Candia, where he died in 1474. His family was one of the oldest and richest patrician families in Venetian Crete, and, despite the fact that he

¹²⁶ Hunger, *Hochsprachliche Profane Literatur*, 119; C. Cupane, “Note di iconografia tardobizantina. Tyche, Bios e Thanatos in Teodoro Meliteniotes,” *Byzance et les Slaves: études de civilisation. Mélanges Ivan Dujčev* (Paris, 1979), 109–14.

¹²⁷ Cupane, “Κατέλαβες,” 413–57; M. Polite, “Παραπτηρήσεις στὸν Λόγο περὶ Δυστυχίας καὶ Εὐτυχίας,” *Origini della letteratura neogreca*, II (as in note 4 above), 177–81.

¹²⁸ Cupane, “Κατέλαβες,” 422–28.

¹²⁹ E. Kriaras (Λεξικὸ τῆς μεσαιωνικῆς ἑλληνικῆς δημώδους γραμματείας, 1100–1669, XII [Thessalonike, 1993], 24) corrects this *hapax* into another: ξενακουστός, “strange sounding.”

¹³⁰ Cupane, “Κατέλαβες,” 428 n. 1.

¹³¹ Manoussakas, “Un poeta,” 305.

¹³² Ibid., 304. On this story, common enough in medieval literature, see, e.g., S. Thompson, *Motif-Index of Folk Literature*, revised and enlarged edition, IV (Bloomington, Ind.-London 1955), 483 [K 2213.1]; F. C. Tubach, *Index exemplorum: A Handbook of Medieval Religious Tales* (Helsinki, 1981), 397, nos. 5262–5263), and especially G. Spadaro, “La novella della ‘Matrona di Efeso’ in un testo greco medievale,” *Studi classici in onore di Quintino Cataudella*, II (Catania, 1972), 449–63 (where the text in question is the “Register of Noble Women”; see below, note 217).

¹³³ Cf. D. Comparetti, *Virgilio nel Medio Evo*, new edition, ed. G. Pasquali, II (Florence, 1967), 107–12; R. Ortiz, “La materia epica di ciclo classico nella lirica italiana della origini,” *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana* 85 (1925), 66–70. Virgil, virtually unknown in Byzantium (see V. Peri, “Βιργίλιος = Sapientissimus. Riflessi culturali latino-greci nell’agiografia bizantina,” *Italia Medievale e Umanistica* 19 [1976], 1–40), was widely read in Crete (see N. Panagiotakes, “Βιργίλιος καὶ Ἑλληνικὴ Ἀνθολογία στα κατάστιχα δύο νοταρίων τοῦ Χάνδακα,” *Μνήμη Γεωργίου Ι. Κουρμούλη* [Athens, 1980], 1–10 = ‘Ο ποιητὴς τοῦ “Ἐρωτοκρίτου,” 246–56). In Greek sources Virgil’s legendary misadventure at the hand of a woman is attributed to Leo the Wise (cf. D. Oikonomides, “Χρονογράφου τοῦ Δωροθέου τὰ λαογραφικά,” *Λαογραφία* 19 [1960], 19, 33–38). Cf. also Thompson, *Motif-Index of Folk Literature*, IV, 389 (K 1343. 1), and D. P. Rotunda, *Motif-Index of the Italian Novella in Prose* (New York, 1973), 96 (K 1211).

¹³⁴ Manoussakas, “Un poeta,” 305.

was a second son, he owned four and a half wine-producing fiefs (*cavallerie*) in central Crete. His wife was the daughter of Petro Zeno, the ruler of the island of Andros; after the death of his father-in-law, his landholdings were expanded to include parts of that Aegean island. He was also the father-in-law of the humanist Lauro Quirini.¹³⁵ A devout Catholic, he was well versed not only in Italian, but also in Byzantine vernacular texts, such as romances, and popular ballads.¹³⁶ He does not appear to have had a higher education, and he chose Greek as the exclusive language of his poetic compositions, the first Venetian nobleman to use “the Cretan language of his surroundings and the Greek metre in order to write a variety of poetic works.”¹³⁷ These works can be divided into two categories: two love poems and three religious and didactic ones written between 1418 and 1430. His oneiric poems are poetic accounts of love dreams. The longer one, “Story and Dream” (no. 14), is composed as a dialogue between the poet, his beloved, and two allegorical personifications, Moira (Fate, or Fortune), in the role of matchmaker, and a girl servant personifying Love, at least in name.¹³⁸ In the shorter poem, “Love Dream” (no. 13), a simpler dream is narrated in which the poet is visited by his beloved accompanied by Cupid, with Fortune also present.¹³⁹

Love dreams, virtually unknown to Byzantine literature, as well as allegorical personifications are clearly of Western origin.¹⁴⁰ Falieros’ longer dream poem has been plausibly compared with a well-known contemporary Italian poetic genre, the *contrasto*, and associated with the “*Contrasti*” of Leonardo Giustinian.¹⁴¹ Falieros’ other poems, the “Rhyme of Consolation” (Ρίμα παρηγορητική) (no. 15)¹⁴² and “Father’s Advice to Son” (Λόγοι διδακτικοὶ τοῦ πατρὸς πρὸς τὸν νιόν) (no. 17), are also of Italian inspiration, although such subjects are common enough in Byzantine literature, learned as well as vernacular.¹⁴³ In

¹³⁵ Van Gemert, “The Cretan Poet,” 8–15; idem, Ἐρωτικὰ Ὀνειρά, 15–20.

¹³⁶ Bakker and van Gemert, Λόγοι Διδακτικοί, 15–16; van Gemert, Ἐρωτικὰ Ὀνειρά, 35–38.

¹³⁷ Van Gemert, “Literary Antecedents,” 61. In the following century, at the initiative of Venetian noblemen of Crete, Italian will be revived and widely used as a literary medium. The oldest Italian literary texts written in Crete seem to be two sonnets composed in 1510 by Hieronymo Quirino, otherwise unknown, and dedicated to Niccolò Delphino (cf. I. Merolle, *Labate Matteo Luigi Canonici e la sua biblioteca: I manoscritti Canonici e Canonici-Soranzo delle biblioteche fiorentine* [Rome-Florence, 1958], 109).

¹³⁸ Van Gemert, Ἐρωτικὰ Ὀνειρά, 99–130.

¹³⁹ Ibid., 131–36.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., 42–45. On the presence and function of the dream in medieval literature, there exists a rich bibliography: see, e.g., A. C. Spearing, *Medieval Dream-Poetry* (Cambridge, 1976), for English literature, and the volume *I sogni nel Medioevo*, ed. T. Gregory (Rome, 1985). See also, K. L. Lynch, *The High Medieval Dream Vision: Poetry, Philosophy, and Literary Form* (Palo Alto, Calif., 1988), and S. F. Kruger, *Dreaming in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1992), esp. 123–49, 225–50.

¹⁴¹ Van Gemert, Ἐρωτικὰ Ὀνειρά, 41–42. Leonardo Giustinian, a Venetian nobleman and a prolific and talented poet in the vernacular, bought Greek manuscripts from Crete (cf. A. Balduino, “Le esperienze della poesia volgare,” *Storia della Cultura Veneta*, III.3 *Dal primo Quattrocento al Concilio di Trento* [Vicenza, 1980], 276). He was actually elected duke of Crete in 1439, but refused to accept the office (Archivio di Stato di Venezia, *Segretario alle Voci*, reg. 5 [Consigli], fol. 7v), in which his brother Marco had served before (1421–23) (van Gemert, “Literary Antecedents,” 50). On Leonardo, see Balduino, “Le esperienze della poesia volgare,” 304–25; L. N. Bassani, “Su Leonardo Giustinian traduttore di opere greche,” *Quaderni Veneti* 1 (1985), 31–37, and F. Luisi, *Laudario Giustinianeo*, 2 vols. (Venice, 1983). See also below, note 159.

¹⁴² W. F. Bakker and A. van Gemert, “Ρίμα Παρηγορητικὴ of Marinos Phaleros: A Critical Edition with Introduction, Notes and Index Verborum,” *Studia Byzantina et Neoellenica Neerlandica*, ed. by W. F. Bakker, A. F. van Gemert, and W. J. Aerts (Leiden, 1972), 73–195, esp. 103–17.

¹⁴³ Bakker and van Gemert, Λόγοι Διδακτικοί, 65–75.

general, Falieros takes his inspiration from contemporary Italian literature, perhaps from Leonardo Giustinian, while in his “Advice,” among other sources, he draws on a version (probably in Italian) of a didactic work attributed to Saint Bernard of Clairvaux, *De cura rei familiaris*.¹⁴⁴ Falieros had also read Dante¹⁴⁵ and, as far as we know, seems to have been the first to introduce the Western religious play in Crete. His “Lament on the Passion and the Crucifixion of the Lord” (Θρῆνος εἰς τὰ Πάθη καὶ τὴν Σταύρωσιν τοῦ Κυρίου) (no. 16), a poem of dialogue among ten persons, displays features that relate it to the *laude dialogata* and other similar Italian “dramatic” compositions of the time.¹⁴⁶ It should be noted that a second similar Cretan text, much shorter, on the same subject—“‘Mystery’ of Christ’s Passion” (no. 47)—has also survived.¹⁴⁷ This is yet another indication of the penetration of the Greek language into Catholic church practices in Crete.

Apart from Falieros’ dreams, real-life love poetry is represented by a fairly long poem, the “Rhyme of Girl and Boy” (Ριμάδα κόρης καὶ νιοῦ) (no. 19), rightly called one of the “best works of early Cretan literature.”¹⁴⁸ It narrates the story of a treacherous young man who seduces a girl and then abandons and mocks her.¹⁴⁹ Its style is fluent and elegant and its content, in contrast to the often vapid courtly and chivalric love poetry in the medieval West, is refreshingly devoid of prudery and quite effective. Its models, remote or otherwise, remain unknown. Much too sophisticated to derive from Greek popular ballads alone,¹⁵⁰ its relation to Western models is more likely, but this still remains to be investigated in detail: the dialogue between a young man and his beloved is a characteristic theme of early medieval love poetry in Romance literature.¹⁵¹

The “Apokopos” of Bergadís is without doubt the best literary product of early Cretan literature. Its untranslatable title is taken from the first words of the poem and roughly

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 108; van Gemert, “Literary Antecedents,” 60–61.

¹⁴⁵ Spadaro, “Influssi,” 89–90.

¹⁴⁶ Van Gemert, “Literary Antecedents,” 61. The work in question seems to be a straightforward religious play fit to be performed inside or outside a Catholic church in a liturgical or extra-liturgical context; its direct relation to the Italian *lauda dialogata* is, however, somewhat questionable in view of the fact that the *lauda* is tied to the secular confraternities of *disciplinati*, an institution that probably did not exist in Crete. The text was published by V. A. Mystakides, “Γλωσσικὸν μνημείον τοῦ ΙΣΤ’ αἰώνος ἐκδεδομένον-ἀνέκδοτον,” *Νέος Ποιμήν*, 1, fasc. 10–12 (October–November 1922), 569–93; see Manoussakas, “Ελληνικὰ ποιήματα,” 3–12. The bibliography on *laude* (or *laudi*) and similar texts is vast: see, e.g., *Il teatro italiano*, I: *Dalle origini al Quattrocento*, ed. E. Faccioli (Turin, 1975), xviii–xxv; *Le laudi drammatiche Umbre delle origini*, Atti de V Convegno di Studio, Centro di Studi sul Teatro Medievale e Rinascimentale (Viterbo, 1980); M. Apollonio, “Lauda drammatica umbra e metodi per l’indagine critica delle forme drammaturgiche,” in *Il teatro medievale*, ed. J. Drumbl (Bologna, 1989), 233–70; L. Allegri, *Teatro e spettacolo nel Medioevo* (Rome–Bari, 1990), 204–22.

¹⁴⁷ Manoussakas and Parlangèli, “Αγνωστο κρητικὸ μυστήριο,” 109–25. Another unfinished late-15th- or early-16th-century autograph text may have been intended for recitation in public, the so-called “Spurned Woman of Canea” (Ἡ Ἀπαρνημένη τῶν Χανιῶν) (no. 46) (L. Polites, “Παρατηρήσεις σὲ κρητικὰ κείμενα,” *Κρ.Χρον.* 12 [1985], 300–305). On its probable “dramatic” function, see N. M. Panagiotakes, “Θρῆνος τοῦ Φαλλίδου τοῦ πτωχοῦ,” *Θησαυρίσματα* 23 (1993), 234 n. 2.

¹⁴⁸ Van Gemert, “Literary Antecedents,” 60.

¹⁴⁹ H. Pernot, *Chansons populaires grecques des XVe et XVIe siècles*, Collection de l’Institut Néo-Hellénique de l’Université de Paris, fasc. 8 (Paris, 1931), 72–86; Beck, *Ιστορία*, 285–286.

¹⁵⁰ Van Gemert, “Literary Antecedents,” 76. Medieval love poetry in vernacular Greek has not been adequately studied. See a survey by I. Vourtses, “Παρατηρήσεις ποιητικῆς στοὺς Στίχους περὶ Ἐρωτος καὶ Ἀγάπης,” *Origini della letteratura neogreca*, II (as in note 4 above), 340–51.

¹⁵¹ Cf. *Contrasti amorosi nella poesia italiana antica*, ed. A. Arveda, *Documenti di poesia* 2 (Rome, 1992), LXVII–LXXXI.

means “exhausted from toil.”¹⁵² The subject is a descent to the Underworld in a dream, a not uncommon theme in both Byzantine and Italian literatures, especially in Italian, before and after Dante’s *Divina Commedia*.¹⁵³ It has been already mentioned above that both Sachlikes and Falieros knew Dante’s masterpiece.¹⁵⁴

There is no indication whatsoever that Dante was known in Byzantium or that he might have influenced, directly or indirectly, Byzantine literature, even Byzantine works featuring descents into Hades written after his, such as “Mazaris” (end of the fourteenth-beginning of the fifteenth century).¹⁵⁵ In Crete, however, Dante seems to have been fairly well known, at first no doubt in Italian circles exclusively, and then to a larger indigenous reading public. A manuscript of Dante is known to have been in the possession of Lorenzo de Monacis,¹⁵⁶ a scholar and poet from Venice, who served as grand chancellor of the Venetian administration on the island for more than forty years, from 1388 until his death in 1428.¹⁵⁷ In the Cretan capital he was the possessor of a library containing Italian as well as Latin texts, which he used as models and sources for his *Chronicon de rebus Venetis*. Despite his bias against Greeks and his stated contention that learning Greek was

¹⁵²The most recent edition is by S. Alexiou, Μπεργαδής Ἀπόκοπος, Ἡ Βοσκοπούλα (Athens, 2¹⁹⁷⁹), 19–32. A “critical transcription” of the text of the recently discovered first edition (1509) was published by Panagiotakes, “Τὸ κείμενο,” 170–209. Following this discovery, “Apokopos” has attracted considerable attention: see M. Lassithiotakes, “Apokopos’ 183–220: remarques sur l’antocléricalisme de Bergadis,” *Θησαυρίσματα* 22 (1992), 127–47, and “Ἀντίθετον σκαμνίν τῆς βασιλειᾶς τῆς Ρώμης: observations sur un passage énigmatique d’Apokopos,” *ibid.*, 24 (1994), 149–88; *Bergadis Apocopos*, with introduction, translation, and notes by Manuel González Rincón, Universidad de Sevilla, Filosofía y Letras 143 (Seville, 1992); P. Vassiliou, “Ἐρμηνευτικὲς προτάσεις στὸν ‘Ἀπόκοπο τοῦ Μπεργαδῆ,’” *Ἐλληνικά* 43 (1993), 125–72; C. Luciani, “Elementi iconografici nella struttura dell’Apokopos,” *Origini della letteratura neogreca*, II (as in note 4 above), 191–204; G. G. Alissandratos, “Μερικὲς παρατηρήσεις στὸν ‘Ἀπόκοπο’ τοῦ Μπεργαδῆ,” *ibid.*, 205–26.

¹⁵³See P. Villari, *Antiche leggende e tradizioni che illustrano la Divina Commedia: Precedute da alcune osservazioni* (Pisa, 1865), and the recent *I viaggiatori del Paradiso: Mistici, visionarii, sognatori alla ricerca dell’Aldilà prima di Dante*, ed. G. Tardiola (Florence, 1993). See also J. Le Goff, “The Learned and Popular Dimension of Journeys in the Otherworld in the Middle Ages,” in *Understanding Popular Culture*, ed. S. L. Kaplan (Berlin-New York-Amsterdam, 1984), 19–37, trans. A. Vivanti as “Aspetti eruditi e popolari dei viaggi nell’Aldilà nel Medioevo,” in J. Le Goff, *L’immaginario medievale* (Bari, 2¹⁹⁹¹), 75–98; S. Lampakes, “Οἱ καταβάσεις στὸν Κάτω Κόσμο στὴ βυζαντινὴ καὶ μεταβυζαντινὴ λογοτεχνία” (Ph.D. diss., University of Ioannina), 112–55; P. Dinzelbacher, “Jenseitsvisionen-Jenseitsreisen,” in *Epische Stoffe des Mittelalters*, ed. V. Mertens and U. Müller (Stuttgart, 1984), 61–80; M. P. Ciccarese, “Le visioni dell’aldilà come genere letterario: fonti antiche e sviluppi medievali,” *Schede Medievali* 19 (1990), 266–77; C. Kappler et al., *Apocalypses et voyages dans l’au-delà* (Paris, 1987); *Diesseits und Jenseitsreisen in Mittelalter: Voyages dans l’ici bas et dans l’au-delà au Moyen Ages*, ed. W.-D. Lange (Bonn-Berlin, 1992). For texts dating after the *Divina Commedia*, see H. Felten, “Dante: Rezeption im Trecento und im Quattrocento ausserhalb der Kommentarliteratur,” *Italienische Literatur*, in *Grundriss der romanischen Literaturen des Mittelalters*, I (Heidelberg, 1987), 209–32, 283–85; P. Dinzelbacher, “La visione di Isabella di Luigi, perugina. Testo inedito del Quattrocento in lingua volgare,” *Schede Medievali* 19 (1900), 304–13.

¹⁵⁴See above, notes 109 and 145. On the knowledge of Dante in the Greek East, dated not before the 17th century, see G. Zoras, “Πολαιότεραι ἐπιδράσεις τοῦ Δάντου ἐπὶ τὴν νεοελληνικὴν λογοτεχνίαν,” *Nέα Εστία* 71 (1962), 724–26, and F. M. Pontani, *Fortuna neogreca di Dante* (Rome, 1966), 26. On Dante in Venice, see G. Folena, “La presenza di Dante nel Veneto,” in *Culture e lingue* (as in note 5 above), 287–308.

¹⁵⁵Hunger, *Hochsprachliche Profane Literatur*, II, 155–58; Lampakes, “Οἱ καταβάσεις,” 88–92. On the disputed connection of “Apokopos” with “Mazaris” and other Byzantine Underworld literature, see Vassiliou, “Ἐρμηνευτικὲς προτάσεις,” 170–71.

¹⁵⁶C. Valla, “Un’ipotesi per l’Epistola a Cangrande,” *Italia Medievale e Umanistica* 24 (1981), 34–35; M. Poppi, “Ricerche sulla vita e cultura del notaio e cronista veneziano Lorenzo de Monacis, cancelliere cretese (ca. 1351–1428),” *Studi Veneziani* 9 (1967), 162 n. 42a (de Monacis knew and used the *Divina Commedia*).

¹⁵⁷Poppi, “Ricerche sulla vita e cultura,” 153–86.

“un’ inutile perdita di tempo,” he was very active in transactions with various Greeks of the island and, in fact, knew Greek and used Greek sources in compiling his chronicle.¹⁵⁸ He certainly was not the sole possessor of a Dante manuscript in fifteenth-century Crete. The same must have been true for a number of Venetian officials sent to Crete in the fifteenth century, whom we know to have been graduates of the University of Padua and men of learning.¹⁵⁹ This, of course, applies not only to Dante manuscripts, but also to manuscripts of Petrarch,¹⁶⁰ Boccaccio, and other luminaries of contemporary Italian literature.

Another known possessor of a Dante manuscript is mentioned by Cristoforo Buondelmonti, the Florentine traveler and antiquarian, who visited Crete in 1415 and 1417 and wrote a “*Descriptio Insulae Cretae*” as an expanded chapter in his larger opus *Liber insularum*. During his wanderings through the island he encountered a Cretan patrician named Nicolaus, most probably a member of the noble Venetian family of Cornaro, who had retired to his feudal village near Candia: “Nobilem et scientificum Nicolaum ex origine Scipionum ortum invenio . . . Ipse in latinis delectatur libris et Dantem in manibus aliquando tenet.”¹⁶¹ Obviously Dante’s Latin works are meant here, but no doubt Dante’s *Divina Commedia* could not have been very far from the reach of this scholarly nobleman. It is worth noting that the first translator of the *Divina Commedia* into Latin, Matteo Ronto (1355/60–1442), was born in Crete. When he left his native island as a young man, he had already completed, according to his biographer, “a fervid period of studies,”¹⁶² which may well have included his first taste of Dante. Dante’s famous verse of the *Inferno*

¹⁵⁸ A. Pertusi, “Le fonti greche del ‘De gestis, moribus et nobilitate civitatis Venetiarum’ di Lorenzo de Monacis, cancelliere di Creta (1388–1428),” *Italia Medievale e Umanistica* 8 (1965), 161–211, esp. 171–72; idem, “L’umanesimo greco dalla fine del secolo XIV agli inizi del secolo XVI,” *Storia della Cultura Veneta*, III.1 (as in note 141 above), 197, 209–10; Poppi, “Ricerche sulla vita e cultura,” 178–84.

¹⁵⁹ See M. L. King, *Venetian Humanism in an Age of Patrician Dominance* (Princeton, N.J., 1986). Noblemen who had graduated from the University of Padua had a strong impact on Venetian cultural life in the 15th century: M. Lowry, *Nicholas Jenson and the Rise of Venetian Publishing in Renaissance Europe* (Oxford, 1991), 1–26. What follows is a provisional list of Venetian noblemen with scholarly interests who served in 15th-century Crete as officials: dukes (duca di Candia)—Marco Lippomano (1435–1437) (King, 389–90), Bernardo Bembo, Pietro’s father (1490–1492) (King, 335–39); captains (capitano di Candia)—Zaccaria Trevisan (1403–1404) (Pertusi, “Le fonti,” 170–71; King, 436–37; Lowry, 7–12), Zaccaria Bembo (1447–1448) (Lowry, 9–10), Candiano Bollani (1466–1469) (King, 340–41; Lowry, 7, 162); councilors of Candia (consiglieri)—Pietro Dolfin (1447–1473) (ASV, *Segretario alla Voci*, reg. 5, fol. 42r; King, 36: a chronicler); and rector of Rethymnon—Giovanni Barbo (1449–1452), son of Paolo and a student of Guarino’s (ASV, *Segretario alle Voci*, reg. 4, fol. 80r; King, 329–31). Also, a number of 15th-century Latin archbishops of Crete were scholars of some repute: Marco Giustiniano (1392–1405) (Pertusi, “L’umanesimo greco,” 218; King, 171), Pietro Donato (1415–1425) (Pertusi, “L’umanesimo greco,” 201; King, 370–72), Fantino Valaresso (1426–1445) (Pertusi, “L’umanesimo greco,” 218; King, 440–41), and Fantino Dandolo (1444–1448) (King, 357–59; see also H. D. Saffrey, “Les images populaires de Saints Dominicains à Venise au XVe siècle et l’édition par Alde Manuce des ‘Epistole’ de Saint Catherine de Sienne,” *Italia Medievale e Umanistica* 25 [1982], 253).

¹⁶⁰ De Monacis may have personally met Petrarch in Venice in 1373 or before and possessed at least one manuscript copy of Petrarch’s *Vita di Terentio* (Poppi, “Ricerche sulla vita e cultura,” 161, 166). He as well as other Venetians in Crete could be expected to possess a copy of Petrarch’s congratulatory letter addressed to the *condottiero* Luchino dal Verme, who crushed a Cretan rebellion in 1364 (text included in Petrarch’s *Senilium rerum libri XVII*, epist. VIII).

¹⁶¹ M.-A. van Spitaer, *Christophori Buondelmonti Descriptio Crete et Liber Insularum*, cap. XI: *Creta*, critical edition (Herakleion, 1981), 105.

¹⁶² M. Tagliabue, “Contributo alla biografia di Matteo Ronto traduttore di Dante,” *Italia Medievale e Umanistica* 26 (1983), 152, 160.

(III, 9)—“Lasciate ogni speranza voi ch’ entrate”—circulated as a proverbial phrase in Crete, and as such is alluded to in at least two fifteenth-century vernacular poems.¹⁶³ Moreover, the first explicit mention of Dante in a Greek text, dating from 1513 or shortly afterwards, comes from Crete: Δάντιος Ἀλιγέριος is quoted in an unpublished letter written by a Cretan, Franghiskos Portos, and addressed to Pope Leo X exhorting him to launch a crusade against the Turks.¹⁶⁴ This Portos is not the Cretan Protestant humanist of the same name, professor of Greek at the Universities of Ferrara and Geneva, and teacher of Carlo Sigonio and Isaac Casaubon,¹⁶⁵ who was born ca. 1511. The writer of the letter was his grandfather, an alumnus of the University of Ferrara in the 1460s who returned to Crete and spent the rest of his life there.¹⁶⁶

The “Apokopos” of Bergadís (his first name is unknown) was written after 1420¹⁶⁷ and printed in Venice in 1509 in a recently discovered chapbook, the first Greek text in vernacular ever to be printed.¹⁶⁸ The poet imagines that he is pursuing a deer on horseback and during the hunt he visualizes himself as falling from the top of a tree into the open mouth of a dragon and ending up in the Underworld. There he converses with the mournful souls of the dead, who are anxious to know about the world above, and, when he is ready to leave, they rush toward him with letters and messages for the living. The poet flees and before he awakes the poem stops abruptly, for its end is missing. “Apokopos” is a small masterpiece that “surely ranks as one of the gems of European literature.”¹⁶⁹ Notwithstanding its lugubrious subject, it manages to be neither fearsome nor macabre. Arnold van Gemert summarizes its message (which was not intended as edifying) “as a kind of *carpe diem*, enjoy the beauty of life on earth; the suffering of the dead has nothing to do with torture. . . . life goes on and forgets you, while you are left with your memories.”¹⁷⁰

As far as its specific content is concerned, “Apokopos” is original and unique. It does not resemble any Western or Eastern medieval antecedents nor Dante, though some reminiscences of the *Divina Commedia* are visible here and there.¹⁷¹ Examined more

¹⁶³ Panagiotakes, “Παλαιὰ καὶ Νέα Διαθήκη,” 255, 256 n. 2.

¹⁶⁴ Cf. Laur. gr. plut. XXVIII. 41, fol. 11v: “ἀντικρούων πλεονεξίας τὸ φιλάργυρον ὡς ἐν προγνωστικοῖς ὁ βέλτιστος Ἀλιγερίου τοῦ ἐκ Φλορεντίας τοῦ Δαντίου.” On this manuscript, see A. M. Bandini, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae*, II (Florence, 1768), c. 65. Bandini published the beginning and the end of this text, signed “Ἐλάχιστος δούλος δούλων σεβασμίας σῆς μακαριότητος Φράγκισκος ὁ ἐκ Πόρτου τὸ ἐπίκλην, τῇ δὲ πατρίδι Κρής.” On Leo X’s plans against the Turks, see K. M. Setton, “Pope Leo X and the Turkish Peril,” *PAPS* 113 (1969), 367–424 (= *Europe and the Levant in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (London, 1974), art. IX).

¹⁶⁵ On him, see M. Manouskas and N. M. Panagiotakes, “Η φιλομεταρρυθμιστικὴ δράση τοῦ Φραγκίσκου Πόρτου στὴ Μόδενα καὶ στὴ Φερράρα καὶ ἡ δίκη του ἀπὸ τὴν Ἱερὰ Ἐξέταση τῆς Βενετίας (1536–1559),” *Θησαυρίσματα* 18 (1981), 7–118; S. Kaklamanes, “Τὰ πρῶτα χρόνια τῆς ζωῆς τοῦ Φραγκίσκου Πόρτου (1511–1525),” *Ἀριάδνη* 3 (1985), 283–94.

¹⁶⁶ G. Pardi, *Lo Studio di Ferrara nei secoli XV e XVI con documenti inediti* (Ferrara, 1903), 71 (*Franciscus de Porto de Candia*, rector of the *Artisti*, 1466–67). Cf. also Kaklamanes, “Τὰ πρῶτα χρόνια,” 286 n. 5, 287 (Franghiskos Portos senior was the possessor of a library).

¹⁶⁷ Lassithiotakes, “Apokopos,” 145–46.

¹⁶⁸ Layton, “Zacharias and Nikolaos Kalliergis” (as in note 52 above), 206–17; Panagiotakes, “Τὸ κείμενο,” 89–97.

¹⁶⁹ M. Alexiou, “Literature and Popular Tradition,” 251.

¹⁷⁰ Van Gemert, “Literary Antecedents,” 65.

¹⁷¹ Luciani, “Reminiscenze,” 324–28.

closely, “Apokopos” reveals a wide range of secondary sources, both Greek and Western, masterfully drawn upon and exploited. There is a strong influence of Greek popular ballads of similar content, and even Charos, the medieval (and modern) Greek Charon, equivalent to the personified Death in the West, makes a brief appearance.¹⁷² Of uncertain Byzantine origin is the tale of the two mice, one black and one white, that gnaw at the Tree of Life; it is borrowed from the hagiographical romance of Barlaam and Joasaph, either directly from the Greek text or through its Italian translations,¹⁷³ or from miniatures depicting the scene.¹⁷⁴ On the other hand, deer hunting¹⁷⁵ and some novelistic material in the story¹⁷⁶ are undoubtedly Western. The mixture, however, of East and West is well balanced. The goddess Fortuna (Τύχη) is presented as carrying bow and arrows and ready to shoot and kill, a rare literary image that, however, occurs in Dante and Boccaccio (and also in Deschamps, Alain Chartier, Charles d’Orléans, Raynaut, and others).¹⁷⁷ Fortune, whose symbol is the wheel, is here confused with the bow-carrying Cupid in an exchange of roles between the two, no doubt brought about and facilitated by the coincidence of common characteristics, such as blindness, cruelty, and omnipotence.¹⁷⁸ In another passage of “Apokopos,” Fortune is presented according to the Greek popular tradition, as spinning the thread of life like one of the Moirai of antiquity.¹⁷⁹ This is a striking instance of the dual nature of Bergadís’ poetic culture.

Another dream journey to the Underworld is described in the “Mournful Rhyme of the Bitter and Insatiable Hades” (Ρίμα Θρηνητικὴ εἰς τὸν πικρὸν καὶ ἀκόρεστον “Αἰδην”) (no. 20),¹⁸⁰ written by Ioannes Pikatoros of Rethymnon, a poem much more macabre

¹⁷² In v. 364. On Byzantine and modern Greek Charos, see D. C. Hesseling, *Charos: Ein Beitrag zur Kenntniss des neugriechischen Volksglaubens* (Leiden, 1879); idem, “Charos rediens,” *BZ* 30 (1930), 131–35; idem, “Le Charon byzantin,” *Neophilologus* 16 (1931), 131–35; G. Moravcsik, “Il Caronte bizantino,” *SBN* 3 (1931), 47–68; M. Alexiou, “Modern Greek Folklore and Its Relation to the Past: The Evolution of Charos in Greek Tradition,” in *Byzantina kai Metabyzantina*, I: *The “Past” in Medieval and Modern Greek Culture*, ed. S. Vryonis (Malibu, 1978), 211–16. The influence of popular ballads on “Apokopos” is discussed in E. M. Papadakes, Μορφαὶ τοῦ λαϊκοῦ πολιτισμοῦ τῆς Κρήτης τοῦ 15ου καὶ 16ου αιώνος κατὰ τὰς γραμματειακάς πηγάς (Athens, 1976), 141–45; G. Saunier, “L’Apokopos’ de Bergadis et la tradition populaire. Essai de définition d’une méthode comparative,” Αμητὸς στὴ μνήμη Φώτη Ἀποστολόπουλου (Athens, 1984), 295–309; M. Alexiou, “Literature and Popular Tradition,” 251–62.

¹⁷³ See Köhler, “Byzanz und die Literatur der Romania” (as in note 18 above), 400; R. Manselli, “The Legend of Barlaam and Joasaph in Byzantium and in Romance Europe,” *East and West* 7 (1956), 331–40.

¹⁷⁴ See Vassiliou, “Ἐρμηνευτικὲς προτάσεις,” 134–39.

¹⁷⁵ On this theme, see C. Pschmidt, *Die Sage von der verfolgten Hinde, ihre Heimat und Wanderung, Bedeutung und Entwicklung mit besonderer Berücksichtigung ihrer Verwendung in der Literatur des Mittelalters* (Greifswald, 1911) (inaccessible to me); M. Thiébaux, *The Stag of Love: The Chase in Medieval Literature* (Ithaca, N.Y.-London, 1974).

¹⁷⁶ A. van Gemert, “Μερικὲς παρατηρήσεις στὸν Ἀπόκοπο τοῦ Μπεργαδῆ,” Αφιέρωμα στὸν καθηγητὴν Λίνο Πολίτη (Thessalonike, 1979), 35–36. The anti-fraternal spirit which pervades the poem is also of Western origin; see Lassithiotakes, “Apokopos,” 127–34; P. R. Szittya, *The Antifraternal Tradition in Medieval Literature* (Princeton, N.J., 1986).

¹⁷⁷ H. R. Patch, *The Goddess Fortuna in Medieval Literature* (Cambridge, Mass., 1927), 85 n. 1, 93, 95.

¹⁷⁸ Panagiotakes, “Τὸ κείμενο,” 159; Luciani, “Elementi iconografici,” 200 n. 1.

¹⁷⁹ Panagiotakes, “Τὸ κείμενο,” 161 n. 1.

¹⁸⁰ Most recent edition by E. Kriaras, “Η Ρίμα Θρηνητικὴ τοῦ Ἰωάννου Πικατόρου,” *Ἐπ.Μεσ.Ἀρχ.* 2 (1940), 20–69 (= Μεσαιωνικὰ μελετήματα, I [as in note 6 above], 280–329). See also, A. van Gemert, “Οἱ σχέσεις ἀνάμεσα στὸ ἔργο τοῦ Πικατόρου καὶ τοῦ Μπεργαδῆ,” *Cretan Studies* 3 (1992), 97–112 (the chronological priority of Pikatoros is claimed); idem, “Κριτικὲς καὶ ἐρμηνευτικὲς παρατηρήσεις στὴ ‘Ρίμα Θρηνητικὴ τοῦ Πικατόρου,’” *Ἐλληνικά* 43 (1993), 77–123; idem, “Η παράδοση τῆς ‘Ρίμας Θρηνητικῆς’ τοῦ Ἰωάννη Πικατόρου,” *Origini della letteratura neogreca*, II (as in note 4 above), 227–41.

and decidedly inferior in comparison to “Apokopos.” Blood, skulls, wild animals, and monsters appear in it. The poet-narrator is finally swallowed by a dragon and finds himself in the Underworld, where an implacable and formidable-looking Charos takes him on a guided tour through the abodes of the dead, sinners as well as righteous. Hades, however, is a forbidding and dismal place and death a cruel punishment. The poet, intimidated and overwhelmed, asks Charos why people die, and Charos agreeably enough responds to this request with a lengthy explanation, starting with the Creation and ending with Adam and Eve and original sin, the ultimate cause of man’s death. The poem stops abruptly, for its end, like that of “Apokopos,” is also missing. The “Rhyme” seems more in tune with similar Western texts in that, for example, it draws upon dialogues between Man and Death and texts related to Italian *danze macabre*.¹⁸¹ In the same gloomy atmosphere, three other shorter poems of unknown authorship unfold. In the so-called “Speech of the Dead King” (no. 41), the skeleton of a former king addresses the reader in the first person and speaks about the fickleness and futility of this world.¹⁸² The other two, the unpublished “Second Coming in Verse” (Δευτέρα Παρουσία διὰ στίχου) (no. 44),¹⁸³ and the “Rhyme on Death” (Πίμα περὶ τοῦ θανάτου) (no. 38),¹⁸⁴ both anonymous, deal in some detail with the Last Judgment and the dread of death. In all three, oral material is intermingled with material deriving from unidentified literary sources, Byzantine as well as Western.¹⁸⁵

Much closer to Pikatoros than Bergadís is the still unpublished “Old and New Testament” (Παλαιὰ καὶ Νέα Διαθήκη) (no. 45), a long-winded poem of 5,329 verses (at least one verse is missing), asymmetrically and artlessly structured, probably composed by a Catholic priest.¹⁸⁶ It is divided into two parts of unequal length. In the first, a descent to Hell is described and a tour of the Underworld conducted under the guidance of a surprisingly obsequious and friendly Charos. The poet-narrator is shown all the cruel and hideous torments of Hell, whose topography and demography is peculiar to this text and bears no resemblance whatsoever to those of other such narratives, either Byzantine or Western. In their wake, the strange pair attracts a multitude of the dead, who invariably lament, ask about the world above, and hand them messages for the living. Curiously enough, Helen of Troy comes to the fore to deliver a discourse on the futility of beauty, another invention that is unique and original.¹⁸⁷ During and after the visit to

¹⁸¹Cf. below, note 192.

¹⁸²Manoussakas, “Η ὁμιλία,” 303–7.

¹⁸³Cf. above, note 20.

¹⁸⁴Published together with the poems of Andreas Sklentzas by H. Kakoulide, “Ποιήματα τοῦ Ἀνδρέα Σκλέντζα,” Έλληνικά 20 (1967), 133–37 (= Συμβολές: Νεοελληνικὰ Μελετήματα [Ioannina, 1982], 130–34). Its poet was a Catholic (Panagiotakes, “Ἀντιγραφεῖς,” 100). See the list of printed early-16th-century Last Judgment poems in Schutte, *Printed Italian Vernacular Religious Books* (as in note 70 above), 229–30, and also Y. Christe, “Le visiones dell’Apocalisse dall’undicesimo al tredicesimo secolo: immagini, testi e contesti,” *Schede Medievali* 19 (1990), 278–96.

¹⁸⁵Manoussakas, Κρητικὴ λογοτεχνία, 15; Lampakes, “Οἱ καταβάσεις,” 170–71 (interpolations of *artes moriendi* in the “Speech”). The “Second Coming” echoes Dante’s *Inferno* (Panagiotakes, “Παλαιὰ καὶ Νέα Διαθήκη,” 256 n. 2).

¹⁸⁶Lampakes, “Οἱ καταβάσεις,” 204–5, 213 n. 60; Panagiotakes, “Παλαιὰ καὶ Νέα Διαθήκη,” 248. In the latter all previous literature, including partial editions, is critically evaluated.

¹⁸⁷Panagiotakes, “Παλαιὰ καὶ Νέα Διαθήκη,” 249 n. 1. Dante devotes nine words to Helen (*Inferno*, V, 64–65). On Helen in Italian and other European medieval literatures, see R. Ortiz, “La materia epica di ciclo classico nella lirica italiana delle origini,” *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana* 80 (1922), 241–65; H. Homeyer, *Die spartanische Helena und der Trojanische Krieg: Wandlungen und Wanderungen eines Sagen-Kreises von*

Hell, the poem is arranged as a dialogue between the poet and Charos, but the dialogue is sparse and non-functional and is frequently interrupted by narrative in the third person. The second part of the poem, about 4,000 verses long, is a monologue by Charos, who, as in *Pikatoros*, is asked by the poet the reason for the torments in Hell. Charos begins his explanation with original sin, goes on at length with a selective narrative from the Old and the New Testaments, and ends with the Last Judgment. Near the end, dialogue is reintroduced and the poem is concluded by the poet, who, relieved by the hope of the eventual overcoming of original sin and of the ultimate defeat of death, addresses himself imploringly to the Virgin, praying for her intervention in favor of humanity.

This tortuous poem is not an adaptation of the relevant parts of the Old and the New Testaments. Based loosely on the Bible, it is embellished, expanded, and modified by the insertion of a number of apocryphal and similar texts, mainly Western, although there are indications of direct or indirect use of the so-called “Παλαιά” or “Ιστορία τοῦ Παλαιοῦ,” an apocryphal Byzantine version of parts of the Old Testament,¹⁸⁸ a text probably used by Georgios Choumnos too. (It should also be noted that Choumnos is a direct source of the “Old and New Testament.”)¹⁸⁹ Actually, in the “Old and New Testament” three different kinds of medieval texts are combined and were presumably read by the poet, in Latin or in Italian: the description of descents to Hell, the dialogue between Man and Death (or Charos), and the versification of the Bible or parts of it.

Descents to the Underworld have been discussed above with reference to “Apokopos.” What can be added here is that the genre is more common in the West than in Byzantium, before and after Dante’s *Divina Commedia*. However, it should be noted that in the “Old and New Testament,” as in *Pikatoros*, Charos plays a prominent role, and in this respect the poem is clearly influenced by Greek popular beliefs that go back to Byzantine times and beyond.¹⁹⁰ Charon (Caronte), borrowed from classical literature, makes a brief appearance in Dante’s *Inferno* (III, 70–136), but on the whole his appearance in Romance texts and art is intermittent;¹⁹¹ there he is usually replaced by the skeleton image of Death with the scythe. However, the poem’s gentle Charon bears no resemblance to the cruel and implacable Charos of Greek folklore, nor, for that matter, to the macabre Death of medieval Western literature. The dialogue between Man and Death is also of Western origin and, as has already been stated, is related to the *danze*

Altertum bis zur Gegenwart, Palingenesia, Monographien und Texte zur Altertumswissenschaft 12 (Wiesbaden, 1977), 89–113.

¹⁸⁸ In vv. 1765 and 1811 the “Παλιὸ τοῦ Μωϋσῆ,” i.e., the “Παλαιά,” is mentioned. On this text, see Beck, *Ιστορία*, 289 n. 3.

¹⁸⁹ G. A. Megas, Γεωργίου Χούμνου ἡ Κοσμογέννησις, ἀνέκδοτον στιχούργημα τοῦ ΙΕ΄ αἰώνος, ἔμμετρος παράφρασις τῆς Γενέσεως καὶ Ἐξόδου τῆς Παλαιᾶς Διαθήκης, critical edition (Athens, 1975), 15–17, 31–35; Beck, *Ιστορία*, 289–90.

¹⁹⁰ See above, note 172; Lampakes, “Οἱ καταβάσεις,” 205–6. The legend of the “Bridge of Hair” (τῆς Τρίχας τὸ Γεφύρι) of Greek popular songs, mentioned in this and other Cretan poems (ibid., 198–99, 209–10), is both Byzantine (cf. E. Follieri, *La vita di San Fantino il Giovane*, introduction, Greek text, translation, commentary, and indexes, *Subsidia Hagiographica* 77 [Brussels, 1993], 54–57) and Western (D. Michaelides, “Σημείωμα γιὰ τὸ τραγούδι τοῦ Γεφυριοῦ τῆς Τρίχας,” *Ἀρχεῖον Πόντου* 30 [1970], 89–93; P. Dinzelbacher, *Die Jenseitsbrücke im Mittelalter* [Vienna, 1973]; I. P. Culianu, “Pons subtilis. Storia e significato di un simbolo,” *Aevum* 53 [1979], 301–12); P. Dinzelbacher and H. Kleinschmidt, “Seelenbrücke und Brückerbau im mittelalterlichen England,” *Numen* 31 [1984], 242–87).

¹⁹¹ Mainly through classical authors: see R. H. Terpening, *Charon and the Crossing: Ancient, Medieval and Renaissance Transformation of a Myth* (Lewisburg, Penn., 1985), 127–248.

macabre.¹⁹² In Byzantine literature such dialogues do not exist. There are two or three in post-Byzantine vernacular literature, at least one of them Cretan,¹⁹³ all bearing the mark of Western influence and a certain affinity to various Italian poems of similar content.¹⁹⁴ Finally, the versification of the Scriptures is a genre exclusively developed in the West.¹⁹⁵ In Byzantine literature, apart from the verse narrative of the events in the Bible by Konsantinos Manasses in his Chronicle, there is only one other text of this kind, the Cretan “Creation of the World” (Κοσμογέννησις) by Georgios Choumnos (no. 39).¹⁹⁶ This is an unexceptional poetic narrative of Genesis and Exodus, of probable though unspecified and unexplored Western inspiration, which, considering the number of manuscripts that preserve it, was the most popular of all of the major early literary texts written in Crete.

The specific sources of the “Old and New Testament” is a complex question with a rather chaotic reply. The works used in it seem to include two texts of wide circulation in the Middle Ages. The first text is the “Legenda Aurea” of Jacopo de Varagine (or Voragine), a famous collection of hagiographical texts written in Latin before 1276 and frequently translated thereafter.¹⁹⁷ The second text, of special interest for our subject, seems to be the anonymous Italian *Fioretto della Bibbia*, a fourteenth-century Venetian anthology of scriptural stories interspersed with large doses of apocryphal and popular material.¹⁹⁸ The *Fioretto* was published very early in the history of printing and became a bestseller, mainly on account of its woodcuts.¹⁹⁹ Its text was susceptible to interference: it could be interrupted at different points from manuscript to manuscript and from edition to edition, modified, summarized, and cut or added to.²⁰⁰ In view of the unstable state of its text in successive fifteenth- and sixteenth-century editions and in a large number of manuscripts, it is no wonder that a critical edition of it has never been attempted. However, unless a patient investigation of this text is undertaken, the real sources of the Cretan “Old and New Testament,” as well as of Choumnos, will never be known with certainty.

In the course of preparing a critical edition of the “Old and New Testament,” I ven-

¹⁹² Moravcsik, “Il Caronte byzantino,” 54–58.

¹⁹³ Hesselink, *Charos*, 56–63; Moravcsik, “Il Caronte byzantino,” 60–68; B. Knös, “Quelques remarques sur deux dialogues par alphabet entre l’homme et Charon du XVIe siècle,” *L’Hellenisme Contemporain* 10 (1956), 223–29; H. Kakoulide, Νεοελληνικὰ θρησκευτικὰ ἀλφαριθμητά (Thessalonike, 1964), 35–42, 89–96 (16th century).

¹⁹⁴ P. Vigo, *Le danze macabre in Italia* (Bergamo, 1901), 98–137, 147–65; G. Del Guerra and G. Rialdi, *Il “trionfo della morte” e le danze macabre medioevali* (Pisa, 1970); Lampakes, “Οἱ καταβάσεις,” 136, 155; Panagiotakes, “Παλαιὰ καὶ Νέα Διαθήκη,” 252 n. 4.

¹⁹⁵ J. R. Smeets, “Les traductions, adaptations et paraphrases de la Bible en vers,” *La littérature didactique*, in *Grundriss*, II, 81–96.

¹⁹⁶ Panagiotakes, “Παλαιὰ καὶ Νέα Διαθήκη,” 255.

¹⁹⁷ Cf. W. Puchner, “Byzantinische und westliche Einflüsse auf die religiöse Dichtung Kretas zur Zeit der venezianischen Herrschaft. Das Beispiel der Apokryphen in dem Gedicht *Altes und Neues Testament*,” *Origini della letteratura neogreca*, II (as in note 4 above), 222–97; Panagiotakes, “Παλαιὰ καὶ Νέα Διαθήκη,” 259 and n. 3. Schutte (*Printed Italian Vernacular Religious Books* [as in note 70 above], 321–23) lists twenty-seven editions of an Italian translation between 1467 and 1550, twenty-four of them published in Venice. The Italian translation dates from the 14th century (Guthmüller, “Die Volgarizzamenti” [as in note 105 above] 340 [7155]).

¹⁹⁸ Panagiotakes, “Παλαιὰ καὶ Νέα Διαθήκη,” 253–55.

¹⁹⁹ Schutte (*Printed Italian Vernacular Religious Books*, 94–96) lists twenty-four editions between 1473 and 1547; see also M. Sander, *Le livre à figures italien depuis 1467 jusqu'à 1530: essai de sa bibliographie et de son histoire*, I (repr. Nedeln-Liechtenstein, 1969), 179, 484–86 (13 editions, 12 of them published in Venice).

²⁰⁰ Panagiotakes, “Παλαιὰ καὶ Νέα Διαθήκη,” 254 n. 2.

tured to investigate its secondary sources and, more specifically, the sources of three passages, chosen more or less at random. The outcome of this investigation was rather unexpected. The first passage concerns the exotic names given to the Three Wise Men: they are called Margalath, Charchalath, and Serafin. These names, reputedly Greek (but in fact gibberish), were probably invented in Ireland in the eighth century (earliest mention)²⁰¹ and had had a very limited success thereafter. (The names of the Three Wise Men in general use in the Latin West were Gaspar, Balthasar, and Melchior.) However, in the twelfth century these pseudo-Greek names were taken up again by two French theologians of repute, Petrus Comestor, the Pietro il Mangiadore in Dante's *Paradiso*, and Zacharias Chrysopolitanus.²⁰² As far as I have been able to ascertain, there is no mention of these strange names in any Italian texts. The second passage concerns Veronica, the bleeding woman healed by Christ, and her miraculous cloth with Christ's face depicted on it, which, according to legend, healed Tiberius; Tiberius' indignation at hearing that Christ was crucified by the Jews led eventually to the siege and destruction of Jerusalem. The investigation of the version of Veronica's and Tiberius' stories reported in the poem (Tiberius is called simply "Caesar") leads to a labyrinth of texts. The story was widely known in the Middle Ages, and the Cretan poet probably has drawn on one of the Italian versions of the original Latin text.²⁰³ The third passage is even more curious. It refers to the ascension of the Holy Mother, who, according to the poem, traversed four skies on her way to heaven before reaching Paradise. The skies are named one by one. After examining a number of texts dealing with the ascension of the Virgin, the only one I could find bearing a close resemblance to the version in the Cretan poem seems to be a fourteenth-century Latin prose text of Irish origin.²⁰⁴ In all these cases I may have overlooked an Italian text containing all three stories with all their particulars, namely one of the versions of the *Fiorotto della Bibbia*. Dante's *Divina Commedia* does not seem to have been used by the Cretan poet, apart from the proverbial Greek equivalent of the famous verse "Lasciate ogni speranza voi ch' entrate." He uses it in a very similar context, but nothing else in his long poem resembles Dante's masterpiece even remotely, and nothing else was borrowed from it. To all intents and purposes, Dante was completely unknown to the poet of the "Old and New Testament," who nevertheless does not entirely lack a certain poetic fluency and literary flair.²⁰⁵

Italian influence is much more evident in Cretan misogynous texts. The genre was quite popular in Romance literatures and is well represented in Italy,²⁰⁶ whereas it was

²⁰¹ R. E. McNally, "The Three Holy Kings in Early Irish Latin Writing," *Kyriakon: Festschrift Johannes Quasten*, II, (Münster, 1970), 671–75.

²⁰² J. H. Morey, "Peter Comestor: Biblical Paraphrase and the Medieval Popular Bible," *Speculum* 68 (1993), 11–12; Panagiotakes, "Παλαιὰ καὶ Νέα Διαθήκη," 257–58.

²⁰³ Panagiotakes, "Παλαιὰ καὶ Νέα Διαθήκη," 258–60. See also A. Graf, *Roma nella memoria e nelle immaginazioni del Medio Evo*, I (Turin, 1882), 362–460. Between 1483 and 1644, at least nineteen editions of an Italian poem on this subject entitled *La Vendetta di Christo* were published (A. Cioni, *La poesia religiosa: I cantari agiografici e le rime di argomento sacro* (Florence, 1963), 40–47). On the Veronica legend, see E. Kuryluk, *Veronica and Her Cloth: History, Symbolism and Structure of a "True" Image* (Oxford, 1991).

²⁰⁴ St. John D. Seymour, "Irish Versions of the *Transitus Mariae*," *JTS* 23 (1922), 43; Panagiotakes, "Παλαιὰ καὶ Νέα Διαθήκη," 260–61. On either five or seven skies traversed in ascents to Heaven, see M. Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* (Oxford, 1993), 33–34.

²⁰⁵ Lampakes, "Οι καταβάσεις," 203; Panagiotakes, "Παλαιὰ καὶ Νέα Διαθήκη," 255–56.

²⁰⁶ Novati, *Carmina medii aevi*, 15–25; C. Pascal, "Antifemminismo medievale," in *Poesia latina medievale* (Catania, 1907), 148–84; A. Tobler, "Proverbia que dicuntur super natura feminarum," *Zeitschrift für Romanische*

never established as such in Byzantium.²⁰⁷ As mentioned above, a streak of misogyny runs through the poems of Sachlikes and is also present in Dellaportas,²⁰⁸ even Falieros is not entirely free of it.²⁰⁹ The culmination, however, of anti-female invective is represented by two poems of the second half of the fifteenth century, composed in Crete by an ungifted and inept versifier who was a Catholic.²¹⁰ In the only manuscript that preserves these poems they appear as a unitary composition, but in fact they are distinct, differing in metrical form as well as in style. Their titles are ironic: “Register of the Noble Women and Most Honorable Ladies” (Συνάξαριον τῶν εὐγενικῶν γυναικῶν καὶ τιμιωτάτων ἀρχόντισσῶν) (no. 26) and “Praise of Women” (“Ἐπαινος τῶν γυναικῶν, in the colophon) (no. 27).²¹¹ The second is quite obviously influenced by Sachlikes’ “Parliament,” but its real sources should be sought in the misogynous poems, in Latin or Italian, where the invective heaped on women is divided according to age (girls, married women, widows).²¹² On the other hand, the “Register’s” models are more distinguishable. *Il Contrasto delle donne* by Antonio Pucci of Florence (ca. 1310–80) has been suggested as its main model. Pucci supposedly composed two misogynous texts, one in verse and one in prose,²¹³ but in fact only the first was undoubtedly composed by him. It is a classic misogynous poem where the evil women of antiquity and the Scriptures are taken up one by one and castigated for their evil deeds. Some of them are identical with those appearing in the “Register” (Eve, Salome, Medea, Semiramis), but here they are presented in a different manner, so that direct imitation must be excluded.

Philologie 9 (1885), 285–331 (Venetian, the oldest [12th-century] misogynous poem in Italian); A. Wulff, *Die frauenfeindlichen Dichtungen in der romanischen Litteraturen des Mittelalters bis zum Ende des XIII. Jahrhunderts*, Romanistische Arbeiten 4 (Halle a. S., 1914), 138–65, 189–92; E. Lommatsch, *Beiträge zur älteren italienischen Dichtung: Untersuchungen und Texte*, Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin (Berlin, 1951), 125–201. For a “classification” of women’s defects, see T. L. Neff, *La satire des femmes dans la poésie lyrique française du Moyen Age* (Paris, 1900), 1–95. Also in *Grundriss: Schalk, La littérature didactique*, I, 263–64. There are numerous 15th-century Italian texts of similar content: see, e.g., A. Serena, *Un serventese misogino* (Treviso, 1905) (attributed to Leonardo Giustinian); L. Suttina, “Una cantilena medievale contro le donne,” *SMed* 2.3 (1906), 457–60; *Le malizie delle donne e il governo della famiglia: Due poemetti di autore anonimo stampati a Firenze nel 1497 da Lorenzo Morgiani* (Florence, 1981). See also R. H. Bloch, *Medieval Misogyny and the Invention of Western Romantic Love* (Chicago, 1991) (which does not deal with medieval Italian literature).

²⁰⁷ There is actually only one Byzantine poem of similar content—that by Ioannes Pediasimos (see Hunger, *Hochsprachliche Profane Literatur*, II, 118), an exception which does not invalidate the rule.

²⁰⁸ See above, notes 131 and 132.

²⁰⁹ Bakker and van Gemert, Λόγοι διδακτικοί, 24.

²¹⁰ Cf. vv. 39–40 (St. Augustine and *Civitas Dei*): Krumbacher, “Weiberspiegel,” 376; S. Xanthoudides, “Συμβολαὶ εἰς τὸ Weiberspiegel,” *BZ* 16 (1907), 478.

²¹¹ Krumbacher, “Weiberspiegel,” 375–390 (vv. 1–475) and 390–412 (vv. 476–1210).

²¹² Morgan, *Cretan Poetry*, 89. However, there is nothing concrete to connect it with Boccaccio’s *Corbaccio* (ibid., 99–101).

²¹³ Cf. the edition by A. D’Ancona, “Una poesia ed una prosa di Antonio Pucci,” *Il Propugnatore* 2 (1869), 397–438; ibid., 3 (1870), 35–53, reprinted in a revised form in his *Saggi di letteratura popolare* (Livorno, 1913), 331–86. The text of this edition is based on a manuscript, *Zibaldone*, of various poems by Pucci. D’Ancona knew of the existence of a printed edition of the poem, but was unable to trace a copy. There exist in fact two copies of this print in the Marciana (Inc. V 203 and V 874), probably published ca. 1478 in Venice. D’Ancona’s text differs considerably from the printed text in almost every verse as well as in the number of *ottave*. The latest edition of the poem, based on a printed text (ca. 1475), is that of Antonio Pace (*Antonio Pucci: Il contrasto delle donne*, a critical edition with introduction and notes [Menasha, Wisc., 1944]). The prose text was published for the first time as Pucci’s by D’Ancona, but there had been previous editions of incomplete versions of it (see P. Fanfani, “Disputazione di molti valenti uomini se l’uomo de’ tòrre moglie o no,” *Il Borghini* (1865), 513–20, 724–32). The first edition of Pucci’s entire *Zibaldone*, based on his autograph (Florence, Laur. Tempi 2), was published by Varvaro, *Antonio Pucci*, 3–312 (the chapter *Delle donne*, pp. 208–22).

The prose text, on the other hand, constitutes a chapter in an extensive compilation drawn from various sources (*Libro di Varie Storie*). In this chapter, apart from the mention of the evil women of the past, a series of misogynous sayings attributed to various sages, in most of the cases arbitrarily, is also included. The text in prose in the *Libro* seems to contain, among other things, an anthology of misogynous stories and apophthegms collected and copied by Pucci himself. It should be noted that all *loci communes* in the “Register” derive from the prose text and not from the poem.²¹⁴ The Greek versifier himself indicates directly or indirectly the sources he used. One of them is an unidentified collection of Solomon’s and of other wise men’s sayings against women, resembling Patecchio’s *Splanamento*.²¹⁵ A second is a text naming a series of evil women of the past like the ones mentioned in the Greek text and the ones mentioned in Pucci’s poem and in other similar compositions. Such texts were usually supplemented by the alleged sayings of various authorities of the past, such as the ones whose anti-feminism is invoked in the “Register” (Socrates, Galen, Hippocrates, Aristotle, Plato, Ovid, Avicenna).²¹⁶ A third was probably a book of *novelle*, from which the poet extracted the story of the Widow of Ephesus²¹⁷ and that of Aristotle *cavalcatus*.²¹⁸ This book was perhaps identical to the one he ascribes to Aesop, an Italian compilation going under the name of the Greek mythographer.²¹⁹ Finally, in the “Register,” Orlando, Rinaldo, Achilles, and Hector

²¹⁴ Morgan, *Cretan Poetry*, 94–98.

²¹⁵ Vv. 73 sq., 157, 251–309, memorized, according to the poet (v. 310). On Patecchio’s *Splanamento*, see note 106 and Wulff, *Die frauenfeindlichen Dichtungen*, 139–40.

²¹⁶ Morgan, *Cretan Poetry*, 95–97; cf. D’Ancona, *Saggi*, 371–86 (*Dallo Zibaldone*); Suttina, “Una cantilena medievale,” 459–60; Tobler, “Proverbia,” 291–92; Wulff, *Die frauenfeindlichen Dichtungen*, 145, 149, 152, and also the *Fior di Virtù* (see below, note 225). Similar examples from antiquity and the Scriptures occur in Dellaportas (Manoussakas, “Un poeta,” 305) and in other medieval Greek poems, such as the Cretan “Alphabet” of the 15th or 16th century published by Helene Kakoulide (Νεοελληνικὰ θρησκευτικὰ ἀλφαριθμάτα, 68–70, 110–13) and the 16th-century “Tale of the Good and the Evil Women” (Ιστορία τῶν γυναικῶν τῶν καλῶν καὶ τῶν κακῶν) (1549) by Tzanes Ventramos (B. Knös, “Un miroir des femmes du XVIe siècle,” Ελληνικά 14 [1955], 123–57); Beck, *Ιστορία*, 298–99.

²¹⁷ See above, note 132. The story is included in various collections of Italian *novelle* (Spadaro, “La novella,” 462 n. 63), as, e.g., in the *Novellino* (A. D’Ancona, “Le fonti del Novellino,” *Romania* 3 [1873], 175–76) and many others (cf. A. Cesari, *Amabile di Continentia: Romanzo morale del sec. XV*, in *Collezione di opere inedite o rare di scrittori italiani dal XIII al XVI secolo* [Bologna, 1896], CXXXVII–CCXI). See also above, note 132, and Rotunda, *Motif-Index of the Italian Novella* (as in note 133 above), 138 (K. 2213.1).

²¹⁸ After the success of the *Lai d’Aristote* by Henri d’Andeli (ca. 1220–40), the apocryphal story of a humiliated Aristotle ridden by a woman was widely diffused in Italy and elsewhere: see, e.g., Ortiz, “La materia epica di ciclo classico nella lirica italiana delle origini,” *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana* 85 (1925), 58–66; G. Sarton, “Aristotle and Phyllis,” *Isis* 14 (1930), 8–19. See also *Le Lai d’Aristote de Henri d’Andeli*, ed. M. Delbouille, Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l’Université de Liège, fasc. 123 (Paris, 1951), 37–53; J. Storost, “Zur Aristoteles-Sage im Mittelalter. Geistesgeschichtliche, folklorische und literarische Grundlagen zu ihrer Erforschung,” *Monumentum Bambergense: Festgabe für Benedikt Kraft*, ed. H. Nottarp, Bamberger Abhandlungen und Forschungen, III (Munich, 1955), 298–348; R. De Cesare, “Di nuovo sulla leggenda di Aristotele cavalcato. In margine ad una recente edizione del *Lai d’Aristote* di Henri de Andeli,” *Miscellanea del Centro di Studi Medievali*, Pubblicazioni dell’Università Cattolica del S. Cuore 58 (Milan, 1956), 181–247, esp. 186–88, 191–94; 207–15, 219, 233–34. Cf. also Thompson, *Motif-Index of Folk Literature*, IV, 374 (K 1215); Tubach, *Index exemplorum*, 31 (no. 328); Rotunda, *Motif-Index of the Italian Novella*, 97 (K 1215). The same story is hinted at in Falieros (Bakker and van Gemert, Ερωτικὰ ὄνειρα, 106–7).

²¹⁹ Vv. 377, 418. This “Aesop” should not be identified with the Greek fables of Aesop, but rather with Italian compilations of various tales known as *Favole d’Esopo volgarizzate* (Spadaro, “La novella,” 462 n. 63). On this literature, see C. Filosa, *La favola e la letteratura esopiana in Italia dal Medio Evo ai nostri giorni*, Storia dei Generi Letterari Italiani (Milan, 1952), 52–73.

are mentioned; their stories may have been known from the Italian oral or written traditions related to the Franco-Italian epic²²⁰ and the Trojan cycle,²²¹ and not necessarily (the stories of the first two) derived from Boiardo's *Orlando Innamorato*, as has been suggested.²²² There is little doubt, therefore, that Pucci's poem is not the source (or one of the sources) of the "Register."²²³ Their only common feature, the description of evil women of the past, is a feature common enough in such texts and goes back to a much earlier time.²²⁴ Neither can the prose text put together by Pucci have any direct relationship to the "Register," despite the striking similarity of certain common passages. The material in the prose text and the corresponding material in the "Register" were, in fact, taken from another medieval prose text of the fourteenth-century, one which became very popular and was printed repeatedly in the next century, the *Fior di Virtù*,²²⁵ a text subsequently translated into Greek at the end of the fifteenth century at least twice and first printed in Venice in 1529.²²⁶

Apart from Choumnos' versified narrative of the first two books of the Old Testament, religious poetry (abundant in Romance literature) is represented in Crete almost exclusively by the poems of Andreas Sklentzas, a canon of the cathedral of St. Titus in Candia.²²⁷ In the unique manuscript that preserves them, copied by Manouel Gregoropoulos and Arsenios Apostoles to the order of a pious Catholic woman of the city, there

²²⁰ H. Krauss, "Der Artus-Roman in Italien," *Le roman jusqu'à la fin du XIIIe siècle*, in *Grundriss*, I, 672–75. See especially, P. Rajna, *Le fonti dell'Orlando Furioso*, a reprint of the second edition of 1900, enlarged with unpublished material and edited by F. Mazzoni (Florence, 1975), 56–58, 100, 206–7, 378–79 and *passim*, and, with reference to Venice, G. Folena, "Tradizione e cultura trobadorica nelle corti e nelle città venete," in *Culture e lingue* (as in note 5 above), 1–138; idem, "La cultura e l' 'umanesimo cavalleresco' nel Veneto," *ibid.*, 377–94.

²²¹ See above, note 105.

²²² Morgan, *Cretan Poetry*, 88–89. Repeated thereafter: see Manoussakas, Κρητική λογοτεχνία, 21; van Gemert, "Literary Antecedents," 57 n. 8. The date of the first (now lost) edition of Boiardo's *Orlando Innamorato* is 1482–83 (cf. N. Harris, "L'avventura editoriale dell' 'Orlando Innamorato,'" in *I libri di Orlando Innamorato* [Modena, 1987], 35–63).

²²³ Spadaro ("La novella," 458–59) is also of the same opinion.

²²⁴ There is a misogynous literary tradition of using such examples of famous "non-exemplary" women which goes back to the 11th century and beyond (see, e.g., M. Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, III [Munich, 1931], 227 [Hugo de Folieto]).

²²⁵ All parallels indicated by Morgan (*Cretan Poetry*, 92–93) as well as all authorities mentioned in the "Register" can be found in the *Fior di Virtù*, an anonymous compilation of the early 14th century, printed at least 60 times from ca. 1471 to 1500 (Schutte, *Printed Italian Vernacular Religious Books*, 235–40). On this popular text and its sources, see C. Frati, "Ricerche sul Fiore di Virtù," *Studi di Filologia Romanza* 6 (1893), 247–447, especially with reference to the "Register," 324–25, 434–35; M. Corti, "Le fonti del Fiore di Virtù e la teoria della 'nobiltà,' nel Duecento," *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana* 136 (1959), 45–51. The relationship between Pucci's prose compilation and the *Fior di Virtù* has been pointed out by Varvaro, *Antonio Pucci*, 212–13, 218–19, as well as that between the prose text and the *Contrasto*: idem, "Antonio Pucci e le fonti del 'Libro di Varie Storie,'" *Filologia Romanza* 4 (1957), 62–66, 362–67.

²²⁶ H. Kakoulide, "Fior di Virtù- 'Ανθος Χαρίτων," *Έλληνικά* 24 (1971), 265–311 (= Συμβολές, 1–45). See the excerpts of the first book published there, where almost all the sayings in the "Register" attributed to Solomon, Hippocrates, Plato, Avicenna, and St. Augustine are contained, including the notion of the exceptional position of the Holy Mother as a woman apart and various versions of the saying that smoke, a dripping roof, and a bad wife drive a man out of his house (on the latter, see Frati, "Ricerche," 407). Cf. also the recent edition of the late-15th-century Cypriot version by H. Kakoulide ("Ανθος Χαρίτων-Φιόρ ντε Βερτού. Ή κυπριακή παραλλαγή, Δημοσιεύματα τοῦ Κέντρου Επιστημονικῶν Ερευνῶν", XVI (Nicosia, 1994), with an extensive introduction (pp. 9–65).

²²⁷ H. Kakoulide, "Ποιήματα τοῦ Άνδρεα Σκλέντζα," *Έλληνικά* 20 (1967), 114–26. See above, note 87.

are seven poems that can be ascribed with certainty to Sklentzas. Two are hymns praising saints particularly venerated by the Catholic Church, Mary Magdalene (no. 30) and St. Francis of Assisi (no. 34), a popular saint in Crete even among Orthodox Greeks.²²⁸ The other five are prayers, translated from the Latin, to Christ (*Ave verum corpus natum*) (no. 31), to the Holy Spirit (no. 32), two to the Virgin (nos. 33 and 36),²²⁹ and the best known of all, the “Adoro te devote” attributed to St. Thomas Aquinas (no. 35). The first of the prayers to the Virgin (no. 33) and an anonymous hymn of the Virgin in the same manuscript (no. 29)²³⁰ bear the strong influence of the Akathistos. The latter, the so-called Cretan Akathistos, more spontaneous and poetical, is perhaps the best religious poem written in Crete around 1500. The Sklentzas manuscript was in fact not an anthology of religious poetry but a prayer book.²³¹

Byzantine and Western influences are equally divided and balanced in the last five poems under discussion. The “Alphabet” (no. 18), a very popular poem, is a moralistic work written in the first half of the fifteenth century. It follows the alphabetical pattern common enough in Byzantine poetry,²³² but it should be pointed out that alphabetical poems were not unknown in Italian poetry.²³³ The poem “On Exile” (Περὶ ξενιτείας) (no. 43) is of a purer Byzantine inspiration; “exile” does not quite do justice to the Greek word ξενιτεία, which means something more—an uprooting, a displacement in space, but also a feeling of loneliness and of homesickness. This is a subject peculiar to popular Greek poetry, and almost unknown in the West, the usual destination of the Greek refugees after the fall of Constantinople. The poem draws from both Byzantine vernacular poems and popular ballads of similar content.²³⁴ On the other hand, the “Tale of Venice the Famous” (Διήγησις τῆς φουμιστῆς Βενετίας) (no. 22), a description of Venice by an admiring Cretan visitor, draws on Venetian legends.²³⁵ The Cretan rhymed version of a Byzantine romance of Latin origin, “Apollonius of Tyre” (no. 42), belongs to the beginning of the sixteenth century; it can be argued, however, that the Cretan text is a free but direct adaptation not of the Byzantine romance of the same subject, but of Antonio

²²⁸ K. E. Lassithiotakes, “Ο ‘Άγιος Φραγκίσκος καὶ ἡ Κρήτη,” *Πεπραγμένα τοῦ Δ' Διεθνοῦς Κρητολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου*, II (Athens, 1981), 146–54.

²²⁹ The first one is entitled “Αἱ ἐπτὰ θεραπεῖαι τῆς Θεοτόκου” and may be connected with the poem *Le sette allegrezze* (or *corona*) *di Maria* (published between 1512 and 1515) (Schutte, *Printed Italian Vernacular Religious Books*, 268; Panagiotakes, “Αντιγραφεῖς,” 97–98).

²³⁰ Kakoulide, “Ποιήματα τοῦ Ἀνδρέα Σκλέντζα,” 126–27; K. Metsakes, “Ἐνας λαϊκὸς κρητικὸς Ἀκάθιστος τοῦ IE’ αἰώνα,” *Βυζαντινά* 1 (1969), 25–38 (= Τὸ ἐμψυχοῦν ὕδωρ: Μελέτες μεσαιωνικῆς καὶ νεοελληνικῆς φιλολογίας [Athens, 1983], 205–21). Schutte (*Printed Italian Vernacular Religious Books*, 235–240) lists fifty-nine editions between ca. 1471 and 1500.

²³¹ Van Gemert, “Ἀνδρέας Σκλέντζας,” 110–12. Van Gemert also publishes the text of a short prose prayer from the same manuscript (*ibid.*, 100–101).

²³² Kakoulide, *Νεοελληνικὰ θρησκευτικὰ ἀλφαβητάρια*, 50–54, 97–100.

²³³ F. Novati, “Le serie alfabetiche proverbiali e gli alfabeti disposti nella letteratura italiana dei primi tre secoli,” *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana* 15 (1890), 337–401; 54 (1909), 36–58; and 55 (1910), 266–308.

²³⁴ Wagner, *Carmina graeca medii aevi*, 203–20. See Mavromates, “Τὰ βυζαντινὰ καὶ μεταβυζαντινὰ κείμενα Περὶ ξενιτείας,” *Neograeca Medii Aevi. Text und Ausgabe*, Akten zum Symposium Köln 1986, ed. H. Eideneier (Cologne, 1987), 205–16, and *idem*, “Σχέσεις τοῦ ποιήματος Περὶ τῆς ξενιτείας μὲ ὅλα κείμενα,” *Origini della letteratura neogreca*, II (as in note 4 above), 330–39.

²³⁵ Most recent edition by P. Bouboulides, “Διήγησις τῆς φουμιστῆς Βενετίας,” *Αθηνᾶ* 69 (1967), 181–90. See Beck, *Ιστορία*, 313.

Pucci's *Istoria d'Apollonio di Tiro*.²³⁶ The rhymed version was printed in 1524 in Venice and became quite popular.²³⁷ In the colophon of two of its manuscripts (but not in the Venetian editions), the poet's name and the date he finished his work appear: Gabriel Akontianos of Canea²³⁸ in 1500. The last poem is a rhymed version of the late Byzantine "Life of the Estimable Ass" (Διήγησις τοῦ τιμημένου γαδάρου),²³⁹ first printed in 1539 in Venice under the title the "Delightful Tale of the Ass, the Wolf, and the Fox" (Γαδάρου, λύκου καὶ ἀλουποῦς διήγησις χαρίεις), but better known as the "Chapbook of the Donkey" (Φυλλάδα τοῦ γαδάρου) (no. 40), a really delightful poem written with genuine comic verve.²⁴⁰ It must be pointed out, however, that the story was not entirely unknown in the West.²⁴¹ It is also worth noting that in the introductory verses the Cretan poet describes the story he is about to narrate using the word *novella*, a very significant Italian literary term.²⁴² "Apollonios" and the "Chapbook" do not so much conclude the end of a literary era as herald the dawning of a new one during which the Italian influence on Cretan literature would be much stronger and more consistent.

From the fifteenth century onwards, in spite of its insistence on administrative centralization, Venice was in actual fact the metropolitan capital of a confederation,²⁴³ and Crete a province rather than a colony of the Venetian state. From the beginning of the sixteenth century until the Turkish conquest, the inhabitants of the island—the urban population in particular—Independent of their dogmatic preferences, appear to constitute a unified society, fundamentally characterized by a social cohesiveness forged by common economic interests and by a common culture. This *rapprochement* had extremely significant consequences, for it contributed to a much closer and more harmonious meeting and thus to a much more productive merging of the Greek-Byzantine tradition with

²³⁶ See G. Spadaro, "La fortuna del romanzo di *Apollonio di Tiro* in Grecia," *Thetaumata* 21 (1991), 23–33, including a survey of all previous bibliography.

²³⁷ Cf. G. Kekhayoglou, "Τιὰ μὰ νέα ἐκδοση τοῦ Ἀπολλώνιου: Παρατηρήσεις καὶ προτάσεις," *Neograeca Medii Aevi* (as in note 234 above), 179–203; idem, "Πρώτες ἐκδόσεις τῆς Ριμάδας τοῦ Ἀπολλώνιου. Νέα στοιχεῖα," *Ἐλληνικά* 37 (1986), 145–52, and idem, "Τρεῖς ἀβιβλογράφητες ἐκδόσεις τοῦ 16ου αἰώνα," *Τετράδια Ἐργασίας* 10 (1988), 459–61. The poet's name in the Venetian editions appears as Konstantinos Temenos, a person otherwise unknown.

²³⁸ A rare surname, attested in Canea (1536): see G. S. Ploumidis, "Κατάλογος στρατευσίμων Χανίων καὶ Ἀποκορώνου στὴν ἔκθεση τοῦ ρέκτορα M. A. Bernardo (1536)," *Kρ.Χρον.* 25 (1973), 319. Judging by the "ser" preceding the name of one of its members, the Akontianos must have been a well-to-do bourgeois family.

²³⁹ Beck, *Ιστορία*, 275–77.

²⁴⁰ Wagner, *Carmina graeca medii aevi*, 124–40; Manoussakas, *Κρητικὴ λογοτεχνία*, 22–23. During the 16th century at least two of the Greek vernacular chapbooks published were adaptations of Italian ones: the "Story of the King of Scotland" (Ιστορία τοῦ ρέ τῆς Σκότζιας) by Iakovos Trivoles from Kerkyra (1543, 1577), probably adapted from the anonymous *Historia de li doi nobilissimi amanti* (Venice, 1524) and not directly from Boccaccio's *Decamerone* (E. Kriaras, "Der Roman 'Imperios und Margarona' und das 'Dekameron' als Quellen des Jakob Trivolis," *Probleme der neugriechische Literatur*, III, *Berliner Byzantinische Arbeiten* 10 [Berlin, 1960], 62–92 (= Μεσαιωνικὰ μελετήματα [as in note 6 above], 528–58), and the "Story of Susanna" (Ιστορία τῆς Σωσάννης) by Markos Defaranas from Zakynthos (1569), adapted from the anonymous *Istoria di Susanna e Daniello* (Bologna, ca. 1491–93) (D. Michaelides, "Il modello italiano della 'Ιστορία τῆς Σωσάννης di Marco Defaranas," *III Convegno Nazionale di Studi Neogreci: Atti* [Palermo, 1991], 157–67).

²⁴¹ See, e.g., S. Thompson, *Motif-Index of Folk Literature*, V, 418 (U. 11.1.1), and Tubach, *Index exemplorum*, 36, no. 397.

²⁴² Wagner, *Carmina graeca medii aevi*, 124 (v. 4). Kriaras (Λεξικό, 11, 261) translates the word, as "adventure," "misfortune" (περιπέτεια, κακοτυχία).

²⁴³ Thiriet, *Romanie vénitienne*, 444.

Latin-Italian culture. This in turn led to the birth of a distinguished culture, one expressed most eloquently in the distinctly Byzantine and at the same time so very Western figures in the paintings of El Greco, Domenikos Theotokopoulos of Crete, and in the superior, indeed superlative, masterpieces of Cretan literature in the following centuries.

POSTSCRIPT

Giuseppe De Gregorio's long article, "Per uno studio della cultura scritta a Creta sotto il dominio veneziano: i codici greco-latini del secolo XIV," appeared in *Scrittura e Civiltà* (17 [1993], 105–201) after I had submitted this article for publication, too late for me to take advantage of its contents. It undoubtedly constitutes a valuable contribution, and from a paleographical point of view it is well argued and quite convincing. However, it is less valuable so far as its historical conclusions are concerned. To the author belongs the distinction of singling out and examining in detail six bilingual (Latin and Greek) manuscripts that were copied in Crete in the first half of the fourteenth century. The earliest—Bologna, Bibl. Univ. ms. 2372—was copied in 1312 by Leon Eugenianos at the request of Angelo Cariola, secretary of the Venetian administration of Candia and a notary of the city. It contains the text of Pope Gregory the Great's "Dialogues" and its Greek translation, ascribed to the Greek pope Zacharias; a bilingual manuscript of the same text is known to have been in the Library of St. Francis' monastery in Candia. The second manuscript—Paris, gr. 1251—dated before 1327, is attributed to Michael Loulloudes, a refugee from Ephesus, who was active as a copyist in Crete in the first decades of the fourteenth century. It contains the early-fourteenth-century text of the "Thesaurus veritatis fidei" by Bonaccorso da Bologna, a treatise of dogmatic polemics against the Orthodox Church, as well as its Greek translation, which was subsequently revised by a fellow Dominican of the author's, Andrea Doto, shortly before 1323. Andrea Doto, probably a Cretan, prefaces this copy with a dedication to two Catholic citizens (*cives*) of Candia, Pietro Dono and Francesco Alessandrino, and to a Venetian nobleman by the name of Giovanni Morosini, identifiable perhaps as the duke of Crete of the same name (1327–29). The third manuscript—Paris, Coisl. gr. 84—also attributed to Loulloudes, contains Boethius' "De consolatione philosophiae" with its Greek translation by Maximos Planudes, whereas the fourth—Patm. 413—copied by six different contemporary Greek hands and dating to 1310–30, contains parts of Aristotle's "Organon." Finally, the fifth—Vat. gr. 329—and the sixth manuscripts—Vat. gr. 760, fols. 250r–257r—both attributed to Loulloudes, contain, respectively, the same translation of Boethius and that of the "Disticha Catonis" by Planudes and a part of Boethius' translation of Aristotle's "De interpretatione."

De Gregorio contends (p. 187) that the existence of these manuscripts can help us to partially reconstruct cultural life in Crete during the first half of the second century of the Venetian occupation, and postulates that, after the asperity and the incomprehensions of the previous years, these manuscripts are the first fruits of an encounter between the Byzantine and Western worlds, an encounter that would later culminate "in quel crogiuolo di razze e di culture ben armonizzate che fu la civiltà veneto-cretese soprattutto nei secoli XV–XVII," a rather inaccurate description of Cretan culture in the following cen-

turies. There are quite a few points in De Gregorio's article that need to be put in historical context for further clarification and, of course, there is room for divergent interpretations, but this is not the place to properly discuss them as they deserve. Suffice it to say that codicology cannot be employed as a one-way approach to understanding cultural history. It should be remembered that Crete throughout the first half of the fourteenth century was in continuous turmoil and upheaval caused by the unrelenting, unmitigated, and often cruel antagonism between the Venetians and their Cretan subjects. Such a climate would scarcely be conducive to literary pursuits and to meaningful and lasting cultural contacts, which in order to take root and be productive need conditions of long-established peace and of enduring social tranquility.

The creation of the bilingual manuscripts in Crete may be explained in other ways. First of all, they were not products of a free interaction between two cultures. They were ordered and paid for by Cretan Catholics and executed by professional copyists, who need not and did not have sympathies or objections with regard to the texts they were copying in the middle of or next to the corresponding Latin texts, which they were probably unable to read. It was not a religious or cultural proposition, but a straightforward financial transaction with few or no cultural undertones or consequences at all. By copying these texts, the copyists did not in any way compromise their religious identity, and we need not search for any special or official relationships with their clients or with the Latin church of Crete. The Greek Orthodox priests of the city of Candia, although they all belonged administratively to the Catholic archbishop of the island, were under the protection of their patrons and masters, who would not allow the Latin hierarchy to claim them as its own. The Atouemes brothers in 1310, contemporaries, compatriots, and fellow refugees of Louloudes, did not even recognize Venetian rule over Crete.²⁴⁴ Louloudes as well as Eugenianos and the anonymous scribes of Patm. 413 were no doubt good Orthodox Greeks who would offer their services as copyists to either Greeks or Latins, whenever requested to do so, without any qualms, provided that their recompense was satisfactory.

The Greek texts chosen to be copied together with their Latin originals, or vice versa, are of great interest, and are worth analyzing in more detail. Apart from Aristotle's writings, for which there was a universal acceptance, and Bonaccorso's treatise, which may have been copied for reasons of religious propaganda (to provide Cretan Catholics with arguments against their opponents), the other Greek texts were translations of Latin "literary" works ("Disticha Catonis," Boethius) or Catholic works of impeccable respectability (the "Dialogues" of Gregory the Great). All of them may well have been copied, partially or in their entirety, to serve a practical purpose, namely to be used as aids for the learning of Latin (by Greek-speaking Catholics) or, to a much greater extent, for the learning of Greek (by Catholics who came to Crete from abroad). Cretan Catholics, with the exception of a few of Greek origin, such as the Sachlikes' family, were largely of Italian origin, but linguistically and to a certain extent culturally hellenized and were notoriously ignorant of Latin, a language they needed (especially the clerics who were native Cretans) in order to be able to exercise their religious duties.²⁴⁵ This theory, how-

²⁴⁴See above, note 32.

²⁴⁵See above, notes 77, 78, and 79.

ever, is weakened by the fact that apparently there are no traces in the manuscripts to indicate that they were used for didactic purposes. But they may have been.²⁴⁶

A final observation regarding what De Gregorio calls “circoli culturali misti greco-latino-ebraici dell’isola” (p. 150; cf. also p. 187). Such circles never existed in Crete, then or later on. Hebrew learning in Crete, extremely important as it was *per se*, despite the fact that Cretan Jews were a small minority that never exceeded 1–2 percent of the population, was self-contained and never ventured to penetrate the cultures outside its social and religious borders nor tolerated penetration by them. At the same time Venetian (and Greek) anti-Semitism in Crete, as elsewhere in Europe, was too insurmountable an obstacle.

Finally, in a recent article based on extensive fourteenth-century archival material, “Households in Fourteenth-Century Venetian Crete” (*Speculum*, 70 [1995], 27–67), Sally McKee confirms the gradual hellenization of the Latins during the course of the fourteenth century, as it is described above. As she says, “the lives of Latins in Crete were circumscribed by Greek culture, even within their own households. It is therefore not surprising to find in the fourteenth century a long-established Latin community whose first language was as much Greek as it was Venetian. . . . The two communities remained distinct and the Latin remained the dominant, but the outward appearances of the communities had become blurred by the end of the fourteenth century. The Latin community’s adoption of some outward characteristics of Greek culture, such as language, dress, and religion, changed their perception of Venice and of themselves” (p. 66).

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²⁴⁶See, for example, W. Berschin, *Greek Letters* (as in note 18 above), 38–40, 292 n. 81, 293 n. 89.